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Reportage on Crans Montana Forum Conference

Iliescu, Others Speak at Opening

AU2104130994

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 0811 GMT on 21 April carries a 76-minute live relay from the Mihail Kogalniceanu Hall of the Parliament Palace in Bucharest of the official opening of the Crans Montana Forum.

The opening session is attended by Catherine Lalumiere, acting secretary general of the Council of Europe; Jean Paul Carteron, chairman of the Crans Montana Forum Foundation; and Romanian President Ion Iliescu. Also attending, the announcer notes, are six heads of state, nine prime ministers and deputy prime ministers, five speakers and deputy speakers of parliaments, 12 foreign ministers, 12 general secretaries of international organizations, 20 other ministers, ambassadors, members of the diplomatic corps, political personalities, and businessmen. The session is also attended by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres.

At 0815 GMT the session is opened by Jean Paul Carteron, who speaks in French with simultaneous translation into Romanian. He thanks the guests for attending this "important forum, whose activity is devoted to developing and boosting international cooperation," and the Romanian leadership, President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, and the chairmen of the two chambers of Parliament, for the "extraordinary work they have done, without which we would not be able to meet here now." After praising Bucharest and Romania as the "beacon of Latinity," Carteron greets "Chairman 'Arafat and Foreign Minister Peres," who have "used this occasion to continue their negotiations to further the peace process." He outlines the main issues on the agenda, including the "Black Sea, the Balkans, Central Asia, and the North-West and South-West relationship in the Mediterranean basin" as well as the "free trade exchange and its contribution to overall political stability, regional cooperation, the European Union, the Partnership for Peace scheme, and preventive diplomacy." Referring to the conflict in former Yugoslavia, he says "hope has not yet been vanquished, since hope is so necessary now, if do not want to fall prey to despair." He invites President Iliescu to take the floor.

At 0830 GMT Romanian President Ion Iliescu begins his address in Romanian. He welcomes in particular "Chairman 'Arafat and Mr. Shim'on Peres, who have been negotiating since last night. The negotiations were resumed this morning, and we hope that this is a positive sign."

He proceeds to review Romania's history, reiterating the country's "long standing European vocation and awareness." In this context, he emphasizes the importance of Transylvania as "the cradle of the Romanian nation's formation, culture, and civilization," adding that, throughout history, "Romania's disadvantage has been its geographical placing at the confluence of the interests of various empires competing for domination in this region."

Returning to the present, Iliescu says that Romania is going through a "historical stage of profound and complex changes on all planes," adding that "the bases were laid for a democratic society and the state of law, which are reflected in the country's new Constitution." He points to the "difficult process of the restructuring of the national economy—a most complex and painful process, with social costs, which is taking place against the background of economic crisis." He says that the interest of all political forces in Romania in this "difficult transition period" is the same, namely to "consolidate democratic accomplishments and ensure the development of the Romanian economy, on new, efficient, and dynamic bases."

Referring to the "deepening economic gaps at the world level, which are hampering the access of all countries to the benefits of the contemporary technological progress," he says that this is bound to lead to tensions, "including social tensions in the developed countries themselves" and to a "further polarization of wealth and poverty at the world level, which can provoke a new mass migration of hundreds of millions of poor people from Africa and Asia toward the rich countries of Europe and North America."

Iliescu emphasizes that the "fate of Europe, of those from the west, center, and east of the continent is the same, provided that we achieve an optimal framework of partnership among equals, not of subordination of the weak to the powerful." He adds that the "political and military barrier that separated our continent should not be replaced by an economic one."

Referring to the Partnership for Peace, he says that Romania is "looking with interest" to this scheme, which is meant "to ensure equal security for all states in the region and avoid discriminatory approaches, capable of generating new sources of tension at a regional level."

At 0843 GMT Catherine Lalumiere, acting secretary general of the Council of Europe, begins her speech, in French with superimposed translation into Romanian, by thanking the Romanian authorities for having organized the forum and praising the "long distance covered by Romania" in the past four years along the road of democracy. "You have even managed to tame this enormous palace, the megalomaniac's palace, which is a masterpiece of the Romanian people's toil." She then proceeds to discuss the "deep changes" currently taking place in Europe and their "particularly positive impact" on the rapprochement between East and West Europe, designed to achieve the "establishment of a common European home, as President Gorbachev called it, which should stretch all the way from the Atlantic up to Vladivostok." After assessing various trends currently under way in Europe, Lalumiere points out a number of "unavoidable" problems related to the transition period in East Europe that still need to be solved, such as the Western assistance granted to those countries, the democratization of their societies, the establishment of the rule-of-law state, and the fundamental changes in the people's mentality. She also refers in passing to other negative aspects, such as the "Zhirinovskiy phenomenon" in Russia, the hardships faced by Ukraine, various obstacles raised to "political and economic reform" in the former communist countries, galloping unemployment, low living standards, popular discontent, and so forth. On top of all this comes a "crisis of values" determined by the loss of the "system of reference, which the vanquished Marxist-Leninist ideology represented," and the "fascination with the consumption society," which causes a run for "easy money." She stresses that the changes are not over yet and that there will be "many turning points this part of Europe will have to face yet." For instance, "Russia's opening to Europe is an accomplished fact, but the question remains what will happen in Russia after the latest elections," because that country seems to "oscillate between opening to Europe and returning to its own self." Catherine Lalumiere condemns the rise of nationalism in its extremist forms, noting that "almost no country has been spared this trend," which is manifest not only in Eastern and Central Europe but also in Western countries, such as Italy, Great Britain, Belgium, Spain, and France. Lalumiere emphasizes the need for "social justice and human rights," criticizing the widening gap between East and West, saying that "it would be a catastrophe if the iron curtain is replaced by a financial and economic curtain." She then proceeds to outline, in general terms, the efforts made in recent years by the Council of Europe to help solve these "huge problems, compared to which our means are totally insufficient." After pleading for the establishment of "coherence" among European countries and their international institutions and expressing her gratitude to the Romanian people, Lalumiere concludes her speech at 0926 GMT. She hands over the medal of the Council of Europe to President Ion Iliescu. The live relay ends at 0927 GMT.

Iliescu, 'Arafat, Peres on Talks

AU2104145694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting between Romanian President Mr. Ion Iliescu, PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat, and Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres took place at Cotroceni Palace. The meeting concluded a short while ago.

Before that, another meeting took place at noon between PLO Leader Yasir 'Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres. According to ROMPRES, the head of the Israeli diplomacy said the following, at the end of the meeting: The negotiations are not yet over. For the time being, there is nothing to announce yet. Asked whether he is optimistic, Shim'on Peres said, quote: I am always optimistic. This optimism is also shared by Yasir 'Arafat. [no reference to close of quotation as heard]

We have now received from our correspondents the statements made by the three participants in today's talks at Cotroceni Palace. First, the statement made by President Ion Iliescu.

[Begin Iliescu recording] We will not make any special statements now. Another meeting will take place at 1700, whereby Chairman 'Arafat and Mr. Peres will briefly report on the stage of the negotiations conducted last night and this morning and the prospects for finalizing certain positive and concrete aspects related to the ongoing negotiations in Cairo. I would like to point out the political significance of these meetings and talks in Bucharest as well as the effort and political determination of the two leaders to achieve something. If one usually talks about courage and heroism in the military struggle, I believe that one needs no less courage and heroism to build peace, overcome conflicts, and struggle against the trend of hatred and immobility accumulated over a long period of time. I believe that this was a display of true courage from the politicians of both Israel and the Palestinian side. What both Chairman 'Arafat and Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin and Minister Peres are striving to achieve these days is an act of courage, which we appreciate as such. I believe it is in the interest of the international community to support these realistic and brave politicians in their efforts. [end recording]

[Announcer] Then, Mr. Yasir 'Arafat said:

[Begin 'Arafat recording, in English with superimposed translation into Romanian] We have to thank His Excellency, the president, for his contribution to the progress of the peace talks, by arranging the meeting between myself and His Excellency Mr. Shim'on Peres. We hope to enjoy your hospitality, in Bucharest this time, to continue our talks and negotiations, so that we can finally implement the agreements reached last September at the White House. I repeat, we need courageous people. Mr. Rabin and Mr. Peres are the courageous leaders who are making this peace. We are not doing it for our or their sake, but for all the people in the region and the Middle East, something which will have a positive impact on the entire world and on peace throughout the world. I am convinced that we are at the end of this long march. Thanks to this hard work and our feeling of duty, we will be able to finalize this long and difficult process. [end recording]

[Announcer] Here is Shim'on Peres' statement:

[Begin Peres recording, in English with superimposed translation into Romanian] I would like to thank Mr. 'Arafat and Romania's president for having facilitated this meeting. It seems that there is something in Bucharest's air that enables us to sit down and calmly talk over the peace process. I know that Mr. 'Arafat is leading the Palestinian people toward a new destiny, toward something they have never had in the past. We wish, from the bottom of our people's heart, that we will be successful and that we will see the end of violence, terror, death, and suffering. We hope to see the Palestinians as neighbors, embarked upon the road of success and prosperity, following their historical destiny. As Chairman 'Arafat said, we are at the beginning of the end of this process and we are trying to find a way to conclude this great historic road of the Palestinian and Israeli peoples. This is a new relationship and a new beginning. I would like to thank Chairman 'Arafat for the attempt he has made, together with us, to end our difficulties. We would also like to thank the president for his kind hospitality. [end recording]

'Arafat, Peres Hold News Conference

AU2104181494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1618 GMT 21 Apr 94

[News conference by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres with domestic and foreign correspondents at the Parliament Hall in Bucharest—live; 'Arafat and Peres speak in English with simultaneous translation into Romanian]

[Text] [Announcer] The news conference is starting. From my position here, I can see Mr. Ion Iliescu, PLO Leader Yasir 'Arafat, Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, and Mr. Viorel Hrebenciuc, general secretary of the Romanian Government, taking their seats in the Presidium.

[Unidentified correspondent] [words indistinct] the Bucharest talks, and whether you fixed a deadline for the signing of a future agreement.

['Arafat] We are still continuing our negotiations and it seems that, this evening, we will continue these talks, thanks to the president's kindness. We hope to unite all the bridges of understanding and solve the differences between us. I am sure of that, particularly in view of the goodwill shown by Mr. Peres, and we will make progress in the peace process.

[Manea] Magdalena Manea of EVENIMENTUL ZILEI. Mr. 'Arafat, Mr. Peres, would you say that there are similarities between the conflict in Bosnia, former Yugoslavia, and the current conflict in your region? Are you maybe waiting for the Bosnian conflict to be resolved first?

['Arafat] Definitely we are eager to see the Bosnian conflict resolved. I do not like to call it Bosnian, I would like to call it a part of the Balkanization process. This is not the first time that a Balkanization is going on in this region, after World War I and World War II. Therefore, here we are faced with a third kind of war, a hot and cold war. We are doing all our best to find a solution to this conflict. Actually, I do not like to call it conflict. After all, can there be a conflict among brothers?

[Peres] I do not know enough about the conflict in Yugoslavia, but Tolstoy said that all happy families are happy when they are alive. If they are unhappy, they can be unhappy in different ways. Consequently, Yugoslavia's unhappiness is different from the unhappiness prevailing in the Middle East. In Yugoslavia, you had an aggressor and a victim, while in the Middle East, you have two negotiators striving to end this conflict.

['Arafat] If you will permit to butt in, I have good relations with all the sides and I am doing all my best for a solution, without propaganda. I am trying to do all my best, but without too much fuss. This is my mission.

[Iliescu] The conflict in Bosnia has [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] AFP. There are rumors that Rabin and 'Arafat will sign an accord around 3-4 May. Can you confirm that you have reached an agreement with Mr. 'Arafat in this respect? Can you specify the day when the aforementioned accord will be signed? The question has already been put to you, I believe.

[Peres] I believe that Chairman 'Arafat has already said that we will try to find the time for further consultations tonight. I do not think that we can announce a date in this respect. First of all, we would like to be very sure in this respect. Any deadline should be observed, consequently, we should properly prepare the latest chapter of our negotiations.

[Unidentified correspondent] I would like to ask both Mr. 'Arafat and Mr. Peres whether they have made any headway during their talks in Bucharest and what are the specific fields where progress was made? And a second question—what, in your opinion, are the most difficult obstacles to overcome in connection with the agreement signed in Washington?

[Peres] Well, we have the following problems. One has to do with the present schedule for the withdrawal, since there will be an overlapping period. We do not know exactly how to solve these parallelisms. In the meantime, we will hand over the administration and security to the Palestinian side and we are trying to resolve this in the most pragmatic possible way. As far as I am concerned, I have learned from Mr. 'Arafat about his priorities and we will obviously take his feelings and preferences into consideration and try to satisfy them.

[Unidentified correspondent] I have two questions for Mr. Peres. The communist regime has made that today's Romania should be the country of (?immigration) [words indistinct]. How do you see the further evolution of the Jewish community in our country? [words indistinct] The second question: What is the Israeli Government's policy regarding the issue of the Jewish assets confiscated by the (?communist) regime?

[Peres] Well, to answer the first question, each Jew has the right to say where he wants to live, here or in Israel. We are very glad that 400,000 Jews had the possibility to emigrate to Israel. We are grateful to the Romanian people for enabling this emigration and I told Romania's president that Romania has made an investment of friendship in Israel, where there is a sentiment of friendship toward Romania. Both the Romanian side and we ourselves share the same sentiments. If there are still some 60,000 Jews left in Romania, the majority of them are elderly people and I am convinced that the Romanian Government—and I hope the Romanian people, too—will consider them as equal citizens, without antisemitic sentiments. On the issue of compensations, I believe that the Jewish agency will negotiate this matter and will solve it.

[Correspondent] JOURNAL DE GENEVE. Chairman 'Arafat, what is stage of the installation of the PLO administration in the respective territories and of the preparations for the forthcoming arrival of individuals and authorities from the Palestinian diaspora in Gaza and Jericho?

['Arafat] It is very difficult to give an answer to this question, because it a lot depends on Israel, in this respect. When they withdraw, we will start the takeover process. Hence, the need for this overlapping period of taking over and giving up certain prerogatives, after which the police force will have to intervene, in the presence of certain international bodies. I hope, that if I have the opportunity, I will go there myself.

[Jaganaru] Ana Juganaru from the JURNAL NATIONAL. I have a question for Chairman 'Arafat. Can a final agreement be reached without the consultation of Syria and Jordan? I also have another question for Foreign Minister Peres. Can the Israeli Government return the territories without the approval of the Knesset or a plebiscite?

['Arafat] I see that you are worried about the approval of our brothers, the Syrians. We have contacts with all our brothers in the Arab world and they are present even here, at this conference. We are coordinating all our actions with the Arab League.

[Peres] As a matter of fact, Prime Minister Rabin submitted these agreements to the Knesset and the Knesset approved them. Therefore, we were empowered by the Knesset to continue our efforts and implement these agreements. Therefore, you should not be worried about this. The Knesset has already endorsed them.

[Dumitrescu] Rodica Dumitrescu. Will Mr. 'Arafat leave Romania this evening, tonight, or tomorrow morning?

['Arafat] I see that you would like to know the exact date. I am sorry, but I cannot give you the list of my appointments. I like this friendly country and people and, for the sake of his excellency, I would like to sojourn here as long as possible, but then, as you probably know, I have a lot of other things to do.

[Duma] Mircea Duma from CATAVENCU ACADEMY. I just want to make an announcement. According to our information, Mr. 'Arafat left the country last night. [laughter, applause]

[Ionescu] Victor Ionescu from Romanian Television. Mr. Peres, Mr. 'Arafat, if you were the counselor of the other side in the current stage of your negotiations, what advice would you give to the other? If you were Mr. 'Arafat's counselor, for instance, what advice would you give him? And the other way round.

[Peres] Well, I would advise him to accept the Israeli proposals. [laughter] Actually, we have to find the common ground. I would like to give you a serious answer. There is an Israeli opposition and a Palestinian opposition to this process and our task is not to force the Palestinians to accept our views or the Palestinians the oblige us to accept their views. We are striving to find common ground that is acceptable to both sides.

['Arafat] The most important thing is to reach a conclusion and an agreement between the two sides. To be an adviser of one or the other side, well, I hope that in either case I would hope that an urgent withdrawal takes place, as well as a quick implementation of the already signed accords.

[Peres] As far as Israel is concern, we would like to leave Gaza and never go back there again. We are extremely serious, and I would like to express my hope and desire that this plan becomes a successful reality and that Chairman 'Arafat can accomplish that.

[Hudginson] Chris Hudginson from THE NEW YORK TIMES. I would like to ask Chairman 'Arafat, now that the withdrawal has been delayed so much, once the agreement is finalized, how long do you think the Israelis will remain in Gaza and Jericho? [words indistinct] What are the main points which are still hampering the progress of the agreements?

['Arafat] If there is a will, there is a way. This is the most important thing. If there is an agreement, time will not be an obstacle. We have many experiences from the past. Well, it should not take longer than a few days. I was told this clearly by the generals that accompanied Mr. Peres at the latest meetings and talks in Davos, Oslo, and Cairo.

[Hudginson] Mr. Chairman, what do you find most frustrating? You have said many times that you are ready, you are ready to go in, but the talks were still delayed and people are talking about another two weeks. What is most frustrating in the negotiations with the Israelis?

['Arafat] It is very difficult to give you such details when we are in the middle of negotiations. I think that the actions will speak for themselves.

[Text] [Martalogu] Victor Martalogu of ROMPRES. My question is also directed to the two distinguished guests. Two years ago, in 1991, at the time when the declaration of principle was signed in Washington, the press in Romania and in other countries referred to Romania as the major, unjustified absentee. Now, at the Crans Montana Forum conference, a forum that generally and primarily approaches economic issues in democracies that are undergoing the process of transition, the issue of Middle East comes up and the officials involved in it are invited to Bucharest. Do you see or do you admit that there is a connection between Romania's role of mediator—which has not always been recognized—5-6 years ago and the current situation, and do you see the possibility that Romania will receive a more active role in this process?

[Iliescu] I believe that any country that can (?relaunch) contacts and negotiations is welcome to do so. We could also see it in a more distant past. Even a small country with limited potential such as Romania, but which has the advantage to maintain normal and open relations with Arab countries and with Israel, could at the respective time facilitate such contacts. More recently, a country such as Norway offered to host the negotiations and talks between the two sides, which resulted in the Washington accord. Today's example, the opportunity given by the Crans Montana Forum, shows that if it is based on good will—and this good will was shown by the representatives of the two sides—this opportunity can be used to support the positive progress of contacts. Thus, Romania is open to offer all kinds of such support for the continuation of dialogue and the promotion of the peace process.

[Unidentified correspondent] Actually I am....[pauses] Okay, I think I have the possibility of asking two questions. My name is [words indistinct] and I am the editor of a Palestinian newspaper published in Jerusalem. First I want to ask President 'Arafat a question in connection with his recent trip to Moscow and Eastern European countries. We are currently noticing a new development in relations between Palestinians and Eastern Europe. We hope that this new development will lead to positive results both in the political and peace process and in the economic relations that we hope to establish between Eastern Europe and the future Palestinian state. We hope that Romania... and this is a question for Romania's president, is there going to be a development of economic relations as well as commercial relations between Palestine and Romania? Now a question for Mr. Peres: We are now seeing two important economic conferences. There are high hopes of progress for the implementation of the Oslo Agreement. These high hopes were dashed at the Davos meeting. I would like to ask you which are the problems that have been left for the last chapter, as you call it, to be discussed and how long will it take until these issues are solved? Then, there is the question of land and territories. According to the peace process, a new check point is being built at the moment between Jericho and the rest of the West Bank. According to the time table, the Palestinian authority will be established within six months in the rest of the West Bank. Are we going to face the same problems or are we going to move faster in the future?

[Peres] Both sides made very serious efforts for progress. It is possible that we are going to conclude the negotiations with a two to three week delay, but do not forget that we have to take into account the complex nature of problems that we are facing and certain unfortunate events. And I want to say, on behalf of my government, that any victim on the Palestinian side is considered by us with the same pain as any victim on our side. An end should be put to this. Extremists should not stop the peace process and I have the impression that we are very close to the beginning of new relations. There are many issues, but many of them are of a technical nature and some of them are of issues of principle and, as Mr. 'Arafat said, we do not want to hold negotiations in the open but behind closed doors and on friendly terms. Thus, about the continuation of negotiations, to answer your question, there will be two continuations. One, the so-called early empowerment, namely turning the responsibility in many areas over to the Palestinian authorities in the Gaza strip. This will be done in the same framework in which we negotiate the overall Gaza-Jericho arrangement. Parallel, we will open negotiations soon, we hope, in Washington to conclude this problem of authority. I believe that the presidents who helped a great deal will also help in accelerating the talks within these negotiations. Because it has been very difficult for both sides to pave the way for something Chairman 'Arafat said was unprecedented, and I know that many of our Palestinian friends are concerned in their hearts that we are delaying things. But it is not so. I want to tell you that we know each other from Jerusalem and Israel, and I would like to tell you very openly that our government is determined to conclude the negotiations and to respect the Palestinian decisions represented by Chairman 'Arafat, namely to depart from declarations and confrontation and to proceed to the world of reality. Thus I am indeed convinced that Chairman 'Arafat will be the first Palestinian leader who will bring home not a declaration, not simply a gesture, but real peace, authority, and solutions in geographic terms in all of the Middle East. We are going to work together and I also appreciate the expression Chairman 'Arafat made this afternoon, which is normal, namely we said farewell to the use of guns, terror, violence, and war and we are going to negotiate only for the future, as we also convened in Oslo, through diplomatic means.

['Arafat] We should not forget that Russia is one of the cosponsors of this accord. We have very good relations with them. We have had a joint committee and a standing bureau since we participated in the Madrid conference, and they are still functioning now. We had very positive and constructive talks with President Yeltsin two days ago. They promised to continue their efforts aimed at giving an impetus to the peace process. Regarding my visit here, you should not forget that I am an old visitor to this country, this is not the first time I am here. I have had a very long-standing relationship with the president, from the times when we were both students, in 1956. Can you imagine that? He was the boss. I was not the boss, he was [as heard]. We have to thank His Excellency for his coordination and cooperation, not only in bringing me and Mr. Peres together for continuing our peace efforts, but also in promoting multilateral ties among us at all levels. We have very many students here. We are looking forward to further developing our economic relations. We are hoping to receive assistance in our country's reconstruction.

[Iliescu] In this respect, I would like to add that, in my talks with Chairman 'Arafat, we tackled this issue of reconstruction, the problem of infrastructure, and the participation of Romanian companies in this process. Apropos our cooperation, we also have very good ties with Israel, and this joint cooperation can be a good example of joint participation in the reconstruction efforts, to the benefit of all sides.

[Unidentified correspondent] Israeli Radio-Television. I would like to put a question to Mr. 'Arafat. Do you share Mr. Peres' assessment that the negotiations will conclude in two to three weeks? And a second question. Do you believe that the latest news from Cairo is good and satisfactory? Do you have anything positive to say in connection with the latest news from Cairo and the developments of recent days? Would you say that the situation is good, or rather bad?

['Arafat] We hope, but I do not have concrete information about what happened today in Cairo. What I was told is that the talks were suspended this afternoon, to be resumed next Sunday. We hope that we will have some concrete results in the following week. Likewise, we can say that we hope to have a final agreement. We hope so.

[Announcer] Ladies and gentlemen, the news conference is over.

Cetin, Peres, 'Arafat Discuss Security

TA2104192794 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Report by Turhan Ipek]

[Excerpts] Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin has stated that the Israelis and the Palestinians are in agreement over Turkey's participation in the international police force which is to be positioned in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. [sentence as heard] Cetin, who is in Bucharest to participate in a conference of the international Crans Montana Forum, met Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres and Palestinian Head of State Yasir 'Arafat. TRT correspondent Turhan Ipek reports:

[Begin recording] [Ipek] Cetin arrived in Bucharest on a private plane this morning to participate in the conference. Cetin was received at the airport by (Ioan Goritza), Romanian deputy foreign minister [name and title as heard], and other officials. [passage omitted]

Following the opening ceremony of the conference, Cetin met with 'Arafat and Peres separately. Cetin, Arafat, and Peres later held a tripartite meeting. In a statement after the meeting, Cetin said that both Peres and 'Arafat expressed their goodwill and wish regarding the conclusion of the Israeli-Palestinian part of the Middle East peace process by the end of this month. Stating that the subject of Turkish contribution to the international police force—the next stage in the process—was also raised during the meeting, Cetin added:

[Cetin] I met Peres while he was visiting Turkey and, then, he had asked Turkey to participate in the international police force—to be established in the next stage. 'Arafat, whom I had previously met in Cairo, also made the same request. During the tripartite meeting both of them reconfirmed their request, stated their acceptance, and that they can now announce it. Both of them together asked for Turkey to contribute in the international police force that will be established in the coming days.

[Ipek] Cetin pointed out that they discussed with Peres the establishment of a Middle East security and cooperation system, an issue which was also brought up during Peres' visit in Turkey. Explaining that both 'Arafat and Peres support this project, Cetin added: I told them that I will send them the draft when the work regarding this issue is concluded. [passage omitted] [end recording]

'Arafat Departure Statement

AU2204095794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 22 Apr 94

["Exclusive statement to Radio Romania" by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat "shortly after midnight" on the morning of 22 April upon his departure from Bucharest Otopeni Airport—recorded, in Arabic with superimposed translation into Romanian; translated from the Romanian]

[Text] I nurture feelings of gratitude and appreciation for President Iliescu, his government, and the friendly and fraternal Romanian people, whom we thank for everything and for whom we nurture feelings of greatest affection.

We express thanks for this important invitation which offered an opportunity for us to assemble a large number of important businessmen, experts in economy, and politicians from the whole world in this world economic forum. During my stay here I have had a number of important, constructive, and positive talks. During those talks we approached a large range of problems connected with the peace process. This important role played by President Iliescu in the meeting organized between myself and Mr. Peres is not unusual. On this occasion, we discussed and approached the problems of peace and the installation of this peace.

President Iliescu has made very big efforts and Mr. Peres and myself were impressed with his points of view. These efforts will be reflected positively in the talks and negotiations between us that will take place either in Paris or in Cairo.

We thank again President Iliescu, the Romanian Government, and the friendly Romanian people, to whom we extend our gratitude and we thank all of them for this position toward the Palestinian people. We are convinced that the Romanian people and the Romanian Government will grant us support and assistance in the future establishment of our state which we hope will take place soon. Thank you.

TANJUG Views Churkin's 'Diplomatic Blunder'

LD2104143294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1341 GMT 21 Apr 94

["Pool" item by Borislav Lalic]

[Text] Belgrade, April 21 (TANJUG)—Only a few days following the NATO bombing of Bosnian Serb positions and civil targets around Gorazde, Russian diplomat Vitaliy Churkin said in a sharp and threatening manner that he is cutting off all dialogue with the Bosnian Serbs and called on his country to do the same.

One would not have expected something like this from a diplomat who was considered the most persistent and competent mediator in the search for a peaceful settlement to the Bosnian war. It was believed that no one could put out of joint this diplomat of fine manners and notable tolerance.

Many news analysts have tried to explain the motives and grasp the background of his outburst and believe that the popular Russian envoy has made a diplomatic blunder and simply "cracked."

By his nervous and explosive reaction to the Bosnian Serbs' behaviour, even if things had really occurred as he said, Churkin has failed both as a politician and diplomat.

As a negotiator and mediator, he did what was the easiest and what a good politician would never do—he gave up Bosnia in a moment of personal frustration.

Time, which eventually reveals all, will show whether Churkin's outburst has cut short his brilliant diplomatic career which was developped mainly owing to his efforts in the Yugoslav crisis. Churkin has managed to score more diplomatic points in his mediating mission in Bosnia than anyone else, including Lord Owen. It appears, however, that the burden of such a fame was too much for him.

Time will also shed more light on some other issues and motives of such a reaction. For instance, why was outburst caused only by the Serbs' conduct. Previously there were also dramatic events and all sides broke their promises, but Churkin never got upset. Not even when the Bosnian Serbs were bombed without consultation with his country, although this could have been the right moment to tell the NATO leaders that they should realize once and for all that Russia is a big state and not a banana republic, as he told the Serbs.

Nevertheless, the most important question now is about the further role of Russia in the resolution of the Bosnian drama and overall Yugoslav crisis. It should not be crucially influenced by Churkin's outburst and by Russia's "brotherly feelings" towards the Serbs.

In any case, Russia has not given up Bosnia. This is evident from the latest peace initiatives of President Boris Yeltsin who has announced serious Russian engagement, including cooperation with all factors of the international community and negotiations with all warring sides in Bosnia.

The problem is so serious that it cannot be resolved at the level of deputy foreign ministers, the Russian defence minister said yesterday in a rather rough allusion to the position of Vitaliy Churkin in his country.

Human Rights Activist Cited on Kosovo, Croatia

AU2104155994 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 94 p 13

[Unattributed report: "A Conflict in Kosovo Would Be 10 Times the Size"]

[Text] "The situation with human rights in Croatia is very worrying because of the war being misused not only for liberating the Croatian territories under occupation, but also for settling differences with what I often call statistical and mathematical minorities, that is, with the people who think differently. This is, above all, the opposition involving a group of people who think differently. Finally, there are different national minorities," Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, chairman of the Croatia Helsinki human rights committee, says in an interview to KOHA, a newspaper in Albanian.

"The Serbian ethnic minority is usually the one accused—at the level of collective hatred due to the frustration caused by the war and the Serbian aggression on Croatia—for the war with Croatia," Cicak went on to say. "I think that this is not good because it means accepting the model of generalizing collective guilt that now justifies Serbs' claims that the whole of the Croatian people is responsible for the war that was waged in the World War II when, in the name of Croathood, certain idiots committed massacres. The Serbs are now doing similar things in the name of Serbianhood. In this respect, I think that it is important to individualize guilt, ranging from the ideological level—such as the ideological level of guilt in Serbia that above all lies on the group of people around the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, which produced the "Memorandum," in fact the MEIN KAMPF of the second half of the 20th century.

[KOHA] What does the new Croatian democracy under Tudjman look like?

[Cicak] As a man of modest intellectual capabilities, I jokingly "punished" myself by wishing to live in an ordinary democratic state. During communism, we lived in a state that proclaimed itself to be the most democratic state in the world. I would not like to live in the most democratic state in the world. I would like to live in an ordinary democratic country and nothing else. This is neither too much nor too little. However, this is the most difficult thing—to find a democracy in which communist ways of thinking prevail is very difficult.

At the moment, a restriction of, above all, freedom of the media is featuring on the political scene in Croatia, for there is no legal possibility in Croatia for free radio or television stations. Moreover, a great pressure is exerted recently toward taking away frequencies from local radio stations where opposition parties are in power. Therefore, room for democracy is being narrowed down in connection with the most recent events, a new strike against Manolic and, in my opinion, against Mesic as well. I think that the Croatian authorities will use the Washington agreement above all for a showdown with the internal opposition. Mesic and Manolic are only a beginning, and I think that the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the kind of agreements that are on now topical in fact mean rewarding the people who are, objectively speaking, to be blamed for the war. This means opening the door for them to turn the Balkans into South America to an even greater extent, that is, to create small puppet South American-type states for whom decrees of the Croatian authorities will more and more boil down to telephone messages from Washington. Of course, this increases Washington's responsibility for the policy here and I think that they should be told this clearly.

[KOHA] What is the fate of the Muslim-Croatian federation? Could something else perhaps be done?

[Cicak] We have again been brought into the situation of guinea pigs in an experimental laboratory of the U.S. politics that has been producing catastrophic results from Somalia to Iran. I do not believe in such things, above all because I think that the people who led to the war cannot lead to peace. Causes of war have not been removed. I was in Sweden when I received the new Bosnian Constitution. One of the new things that are being envisaged is the "ombudsman" and the human-rights tribunal. When it was recognized, Croatia signed a document obliging itself to form a human rights tribunal, but it has not done so to date. How can we have any right to ask another country to establish a human-rights tribunal and "ombudsman" and we are not complying with international obligations within our own country.

[KOHA] What is the political influence, above all of the Albanians, on the solving of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, including Kosovo?

[Cicak] When I am thinking about events in the Balkans, I often remember Tolstoy's "War and Peace" that I read in prison three times. He had excellent thoughts about politicians being only labels on wine bottles with the and wines inside being good, bad, overfermented, or underfermented. Therefore, I think that the names of the people on the Kosovo political scene at the moment are simply names that represent the situation at the moment. I think that the new times and new events will make new people surface. Just as is the case in Croatia. Many people were wiped out by political events in 1971. Likewise many names on the Kosovo political scene of today will simply be wiped out by new events and I think that these events will bring in some far more radical people. Unfortunately, Albanians cannot avoid the process of radicalization that, in my opinion, will be brought from outside. The moment the Serbs need it, they will set off on a showdown with Kosovo, as this is simply the only way they can function. They need war primarily to strengthen the system and not only to create a greater Serbia.

In this respect, I think that the most horrible events will take place in Kosovo, because the amount of hatred between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo is 10 times as great as that in Croatia and Bosnia. And I think that the number of conflicts and events in Kosovo will also be 10 times greater. I do not want to play a prophet, but I have, so far, correctly predicted a lot of what has, unfortunately, happened in Kosovo. The conflict in Kosovo will provoke a global conflict in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] that will cause 1 million deaths in a short time. This is my own opinion and I have also spoken with a Swedish strategist. The amount of hatred and brutality, particularly on the Serbian side, is such that it is awful.

If there is such an explosion in Kosovo, people will start fleeing down toward Tetovo en masse, because all this is a valley and that would simply be the most natural thing to do. The demographic situation in Macedonia will thereby change and that will cause a chain reaction. Albania, as well as Bulgaria and Greece will not watch from the sidelines. What the world is afraid of is the greatest cynicism of the West. In fact they are not bothered much by the conflict taking place in the Balkans between us: the Croats, Serbs, Muslims, Albanians, and others. They are afraid of the NATO breakdown that has begun with the conflict between Greece and Turkey and this is why they are acting at the level of prevention. However, I do not think that their prevention will work. To quote [Serbian writer] Filip David, one should strike and thereby prevent that budding neo-nazism in Europe, which is blend of bolshevism and an extreme chauvinistic nationalism, something that can best be seen in Russia. I think that the only way this process can be stopped is by demystifying those people who have begun their nazi projects, projects summed up in the following sentence: "One blood, one soil, one leader, one people." I do not like to lecture anybody, any peoples or groups, but the message I would send to the Albanians is that everything should be done to avoid deaths. Because, there has been only one case of resurrection in history.

[KOHA] What do you think about the Kosovo setup, "reflecting" the present attempts in Bosnia, that is, about the Kosovo setup in the present Yugoslavia?

[Cicak] This will be the worst catastrophe. The Albanians are going to swallow the idea, reckoning that it is important to acquire the status of federal units in Serbia or Macedonia and afterwards join Albania. I would call that a mistake in the long run and I will tell you why. What is involved is the project of first having a federation of Croats and Muslims in Bosnia, then confederal links with Croatia. Following this is the federalization of Croats and Muslims with the Serbs and then confederalization between that confederation and Serbia. After that, the Americans will try to apply that model to the federalization of Kosovo and linking that into a confederation with Albania. This would be one more reason for even greater war clashes in a certain number of years. Therefore, this does not solve the essential question again. And the essential question is how to stop the way of thinking that is 140 years old and that assumes the existence of a greater Serbia, a greater Croatia, and a greater Albania.

[KOHA] What can the international community gain for Kosovo?

[Cicak] The first step that the international community should gain for Kosovo is the degree of autonomy that it had on the basis of the 1974 [SFRY] Constitution, which was abolished against the will of the Albanian population. A great dilemma that the Albanians will certainly then face is how to preserve the ethnic rights of the Serbian ethnic minority, because the Serbs who are a constitutive nation would thereby turn into an ethnic minority. This is not because a constitution would have it that way, but it is from a mathematical point of view. They will simply be a minority from a statistical point of view and regardless of any constitutional provisions. A climate of intolerance and hatred between Albanians and Serbs cannot be avoided. It will not be possible to avoid revanchism.

The problem is how long that would be possible to endure.

How can this Balkan knot be later untangled is a question. According to what I have learned, Albania itself is hardly delighted with joining Kosovo soon. Kosovo is at the higher level of development in all social spheres, ranging from the cultural sphere to the economic basis. In this respect, after the reports and talks I had, I was very surprised when, in talks with people from Albania, I realized that they are not particularly delighted with that idea, fearing an overall domination of Kosovo Albanians in a future Albanian state. This fear of the Albanians is a fact. I think that Kosovo Albanians also know this very well. Terrible problems ensued with the union of East and West Germany because, in 45 years of living separately they became two separate bodies.

Police Detain Greek Minority Activists

AU2104163894

[Editorial Report] Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian on 20 April on pages one and two carries three 500-word correspondents' reports from Tirana, Korce, and Gjirokaster under the general headline "Greek Minority Leaders Detained by the Police." Bari GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian on 20 April carries a 300-word "Fa. Ba." report from Sarande entitled "'Omonia' Activists From the South Detained." Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE and ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 20 April make no mention of the detention of Greek minority leaders.

T. Cela writes in KOHA JONE, "According to information reaching our editorial office late in the evening of 18 April as well as yesterday morning, the main leaders of Omonia and the Human Rights Defense Party (PDNJ), which is represented in parliament, have been detained by the police in some southern districts and in Tirana."

Cela later continues, "It seems that interstate tensions have this time not spared these two organizations, whose leaders have taken up the defense of the Greek minority in Albania. Only a few days ago, in one of the zigzags that have characterized the Albanian official attitude, President Berisha stated that the deterioration of relations between the two neighbors would not influence the Albanian Government's attitude to the Greek minority."

Interviewed by Cela, PDNJ Chairman Vasil Melo is reported as declaring, "I cannot say anything or give any explanation of what has happened. I have been told on the phone from Gjirokaster about some detentions. I know that Mr. Andrea Marto, deputy chairman of Omonia in Tirana, was detained on Monday [18 April] evening, and that documentation was taken from the Omonia offices."

Reporting from Korce under the headline "Omonia Chairman Detained by the Police," Z. Dule writes:

"The homes of the leaders of Omonia in the districts of Devoll, Pogradec, and Kolonje have been searched. Mrs Ermioni Andrea, Omonia chairwoman in Korce; Jani Mulas, Omonia deputy chairman; Kostandina Tushi, Omonia secretary; Niko Mongoleci, chairman of the Albanian-Greek Friendship Association; Gjerkji Leka, chairman of the PDNJ; and Stefan Papa, member of the PDNJ Presidium, all became the targets of a large scale operation by the ShIK [National Intelligence Service] and the police in the early hours of the night of 18-19 April. It was 2200 on Monday evening when a group of ShIK agents and policemen knocked at Mrs Ermioni Andrea's door. 'After we opened the door, seven people—five civilians and two policemen—came in,' Mr. Sotiraq Andrea, husband of the chairwoman of Omonia in Korce, explained to KOHA JONE, 'After identifying themselves, they started searching the apartment, ransacking everything. They took with them books, magazines, and dictionaries in Greek. When they left, the ShIK agents also took Mrs Ermione Andrea, on the pretext that they wanted to search the Omonia office.' On Tuesday Mr. Andrea learned of his wife's fate when he asked the police. 'They told me that they had set off for Tirana at 1400, having found compromising material in the office,' Mr. Andrea said, not excluding the possibility that the ShIK itself might have planted material with anticonstitutional contents in the office. The apartment of Mr. Niko Mungoleci, chairman of the Albanian-Greek friendship Association, was searched, and he was also detained. Searches were also carried out of the family of Mr. Jani Mula, deputy chairman of Omonia; in the family of Omonia secretary Kostandina Tusha, wife of the well-known painter Vangjush Tusha; in the homes of PDNJ Chairman Gjergji Leka and PDNJ Presidium member Stefan Papa, etc. 'We are worried about our father,' Mr. Stefan Papa's son told KOHA JONE. When the search was carried out on the night of 18 April, he was in Salonika. He reported to the police on the morning of 19 April. Besides this, the Omonia chairmen in Devoli, Kolonje, and Pogradec have been subjected to searches and taken in for questioning. We did not succeed in obtaining any official confirmation because the operation is still continuing. Nor is the exact number of those detained known, because it is still unknown whether they will be arrested following their detention and accused of anticonstitutional activities."

An unnamed KOHA JONE correspondent in Gjirokaster writes, "The police made a series of detentions in some homes of Omonia leaders in Gjirokaster late on 18 April. We have learned that Theodori Bezhani, Omonia chairman for Gjirokaster District; Kosta Oirjako, resident of the village of Dervican; Irakli Sirmo, and others have been detained. We have also learned that there have been detentions of Greek-minority Albanian citizens in Tepelene and Sarande. On Tuesday, police officials arrived from Tirana and took the detainees to the capital. Trying to find out more about this operation and the reason behind these detentions, a police officer involved in this lightning operation confirmed to us, 'A U.S.-type rifle and a considerable number of hunting cartridges were found in Mr. Behani's house, and it is not known whether he possessed a permit.' We have also learned that his home contained a considerable amount of literature covered by the Law on Anticonstitutional Activity. This literature included calendars showing maps of the so-called Vorio-Epiros of 1914, and maps showing this area's borders as mentioned in the aforementioned literature. A few bullets and anticonstitutional literature were also found in Kosta Qirjako's house. Nevertheless, the police have still not confirmed the precise reason for these citizens' detention. Similarly, nothing is known about the detentions of the Greek-minority citizens in Tepelene and Sarabde except that they are connected with the work of the Greek-minority political organization in Albania. News of these detentions was followed with very great interest in Greece yesterday. All the television stations and daily papers gave reports, without explaining the charges behind these detentions. Nor have the Omonia leaders issued any statement about the reasons for the detentions, despite our correspondent's insistence."

Prime Minister Berov Released From Hospital

AU2204093794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Colonel Dr. Milan Petrov, chief of the Military Medical Academy, informed us a few minutes ago that this morning Prime Minister Lyuben Berov was released from the Lozenets Hospital.

It is up to the prime minister whether he will make use of the 15-20 day home rest, which is customary after a cardiovascular operation, or whether he will return immediately to regular activity, of which, according to the medical team, he is sufficiently able, Col. Dr. Milan Petrov said.

Daskalov, Slovakia's Kukan Discuss Trade

AU2204111794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Bilateral relations and common issues related to our integration in the European structures were discussed at the 22 April meeting between Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov and Eduard Kukan, foreign minister of the Slovak Republic.

I was surprised to learn that the trade exchange between Bulgaria and Slovakia is shamefully small, and we agreed to encourage contacts between businessmen from the two countries, our foreign minister said. He said that it is necessary to review the contractual-legal basis between Bulgaria and Slovakia and sign a trade agreement in May.

Netherlands' Lubbers, Kooijmans Meet Yordanov

AU2104094294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] The Parliament of the Netherlands will adopt Bulgaria's agreement with the European Union. This was promised by Ruud Lubbers, prime minister of the Netherlands, and Peter Kooijmans, foreign minister of the Netherlands, at their meeting this morning with Aleksandur Yordanov, National Assembly chairman.

Mr. Yordanov expressed gratitude for the Netherlands' assistance to Bulgaria's integration in the European structures. It was pointed out that a willingness to be a stabilizing factor in the Balkans is a top priority in Bulgaria's foreign policy, and that the country attributed great importance to cooperation with European and world finance and economic structures.

Meet With Daskalov, Matinchev

AU2004184894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Report by Vanya Manolova]

[Text] Today Bulgarian Foreign Ministry Stanislav Daskalov and Peter Kooijmans, foreign minister of the Netherlands, who is visiting our country, signed a joint-political declaration of the two countries' Foreign Ministries. According to Mr. Daskalov, the document specifies the main directions for bilateral cooperation, but the important thing is that these are refracted through the prism of our common aims to integrate us in the European and Euro- Atlantic structures.

Prior to this, Acting Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev talked for almost two hours with Netherlands Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and Foreign Minister Peter Kooijmans. During the meeting they discussed the difficulties of the transition and the possibilities for stimulating our bilateral relations, especially in the sphere of investments and cooperation in providing financial credits.

Through its representatives, the Netherlands assured us that in the near future it will ratify the interim trade agreement between Bulgaria and the European Union. The guests expressed the Netherlands' readiness to invest in our transportation projects, including the new Danube bridge.

Former Minister Opposes Russia in NATO, EU

OW2204090994 Tokyo KYODO in English 0849 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Tokyo, April 22 KYODO—Former Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said Friday [22 April] he is opposed to giving Russia a membership to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU) as a factor that could threaten European security.

"We cannot add a (politically) unstable country to (those multi-national organizations)," Dienstbier said in an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE.

Russia, if it becomes a member of those organizations, will not work as reinforcing security in Europe, but rather will become a disturbing factor, he said.

Dienstbier is in Japan to attend a symposium cosponsored by the United Nations University and a nongovernmental organization.

Pointing out that there is danger of a revival of a policy favoring great powers in Russia, the Czech Republic will continue monitoring movements toward democracy under the regime of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic became independent states with the peaceful dissolution of Czechoslovakia Federation in January 1993 following the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1991.

The former Warsaw Pact nations led by the former Soviet Union invaded the Czechoslovakian capital of Prague in 1968 to crush a reform movement there.

In August 1993, Yeltsin flew to Prague, now the Czech capital, to sign friendship treaties with Czech and Slovak counterparts, but neither of treaty includes a direct apology for the 1968 invasion.

Dienstbier served as foreign minister for the former Czechoslovakia from December 1989 to June 1992.

He said the republic will keep a close watch on how Russia will establish relations with other former Soviet republics as a test case to see its policy toward the middle European nations.

On Czech politics, he predicted that people will voice opposition to the present government led by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in the expected election of the upper senate chamber within this year.

On relations with the Slovak Republic, he said it is possible for the two republics to unite again in line with expansion of a unification of European nations.

Zieleniec Discusses Visit to Vietnam

AU2204112194 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Apr 94 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Viliam Buchert in Ho Chi Minh City on 19 April: "Minister Zieleniec: We Have a Good Chance in Vietnam"]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City—According to Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec, the Czech Republic is well on the way toward emulating other countries and orienting itself more toward Vietnam. The head of our diplomatic corps does not see this as a major problem. For this reason, MLADA FRONTA DNES asked him for an interview at the end of his visit to this country.

[Buchert] Was it not a political mistake to reduce contacts drastically with Vietnam at the beginning of the 1990's and thus also affect economic relations?

[Zieleniec] There was no political decision. Vietnam was simply pushed aside by our interest in other countries, especially Western ones. There was a certain easing off, but now, on the other hand, there are far greater opportunities because this state only reached the stage of more rapid reforms in the past two years.

[Buchert] So, this was not a mistake by our side?

[Zieleniec] It was determined by developments. I repeat, there was no political decision, and, therefore, there could not have been a mistake.

[Buchert] In the wake of their recent visits to Hanoi, for example, Philippine President Ramos, Swedish Prime Minister Bildt, and Australian Prime Minister Keating all left with specific agreements. Why did this not happen in our case?

[Zieleniec] You are not looking at the issue correctly. Agreements are only an element of overall relations. Incidentally, agreements will be signed soon.

[Buchert] So, neither the Vietnamese nor the Czech side is disappointed by the outcome of the visit?

[Zieleniec] On the contrary, the two sides were satisfied. In my opinion, it is better to carry an issue through thoroughly, right to the end.

[Buchert] Officials from the Hanoi government spoke with you about the possibility of trading in arms. Were they successful?

[Zieleniec] Their military hardware is compatible with ours. This issue, however, was a marginal one, and they came up with it. Therefore, they did not receive an answer, and our response will be a matter for political consideration.

[Buchert] The former Federal Government released 400 million korunas as compensation for the Vietnamese working in the CSFR who had to return home early. The money was supposed to be used to aid projects for these people. Apparently, this did not happen. Has anyone been monitoring the flow of these finances?

[Zieleniec] This was an agreement between governments and not between the former federal cabinet and individual Vietnamese. We provided the money. According to agreement, however, its fate was in the hands of the Hanoi government.

[Buchert] According to polls in the Czech Republic, the Vietnamese are not exactly popular among our citizens. Does this not harm mutual relations?

[Zieleniec] If the Czech Republic's citizens could see what the Vietnamese are really like, I think they would change their views. This will in no way harm relations.

Background Information on Tamara Radar Systems

AU2104150694 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Apr 94 p 7

[Article by Jaroslav Kmenta: "There Are Disputes Going On Regarding Exports of the Tamara System"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Despite the various disputes regarding the details of the operational results of the Tamara radar that are going on, the world is interested in this system that is capable of monitoring all types of aircraft. The Defense Ministries interested in buying the system include those of India, China, Iran, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand.

Nevertheless, some military officials are skeptical about the export of this top-ranking product. It is rumored in military circles that the United States is interested in the nonproliferation of this equipment because, as one of a very few systems, it has the capability of detecting the "invisible" U.S. Stealth reconnaissance aircraft. If Iraq, for instance, owned Tamara, the billions spent on the development of Stealth would be wasted. [passage omitted]

Tamara is an original Czech discovery that was 35 years in the works. It is a system that, as opposed to other radars, which emit radio waves and evaluate their reflection, only receives radio impulses. Regarding the usage, it neither competes with nor replaces radar but, rather, adds to the radar information such important data as recognition of the type of aircraft or ship, and facilitates the verification of the flight or navigation route by an alternative physical method. [passage omitted]

Its Predecessor Was Ramona

At the end of the 1950's, a new, original method was discovered at the research institute of the then Czechoslovak Army that facilitated an immediate, unequivocal, and extremely precise determination of the location of electrical signal transmitters. The method is based on the so-called time-hyperbolic [casove hyperbolicky] principle.

The discovery did not remain just theory but was very rapidly applied. Already in the early 1960's, the Czechoslovak Army had at its disposal the precise PRP-1 Kopac [digger] radiotechnical finder; in the 1970's, the second generation of this technology under the name Ramona; and, in the 1980's, the third generation, called "Tamara."

Tamara is a passive radiotechnical system that provides an immediate survey of the activity of ground, water surface, and aerial sources of radiotechnical signals to a distance of 100 km, determines their precise location, and is able to concurrently follow the routes and recognize dozens of types of aircraft or ships of practically all known categories.

Experts claim that, if the Tamara system were used, such tragedies as the downing of the KAL-007 airliner by a Soviet Su-15 fighter jet over Sakhalin in the night hours in September 1983, or the downing of the Iranian transport Airbus-300 aircraft by a U.S. Navy missile (from the Vincennes cruiser) in July 1987 over the Strait of Hormuz would not have taken place. Both instances were allegedly caused by errors. In the former case, the aircraft was confused with the U.S. F-16 reconnaissance aircraft. One can safely assume that, in either case, there was no technical system available with the capability to recognize the types of aircraft with the determination precision needed.

More than 50 Ramona and Tamara systems have been produced in Czechoslovakia. The vast majority were exported to the then USSR, and one to the former GDR.

2d Mechanized Brigade Commander on Reorganizing

94CH0210A Prague A REPORT in Czech 21 Jan 94 p 9

[Interview with General Staff Colonel Vaclav Prazak, commander of the 2d Mechanized Brigade, by Vlastimil Stana; place and date not given: "On the Difficult Road Toward Perfection"]

[Text] *The very first unit of the Czech Army, which came into being on the basis of the new principles, is the 2d Mechanized Brigade. The preceding months were not overly calm ones, but nevertheless it was possible to create a military formation that is viable. Without exaggerating, the changes had an impact not only on the organization itself, but significantly on the lives of people. We spoke about it last week with General Staff Colonel Vaclav Prazak, who commands the brigade.*

[Stana] What developments immediately preceded the establishment of the brigade?

[Prazak] We did not build our organization from scratch. We made use of a portion of our experiences and proven methods of work dating back to the time of the 2d Mechanized Division. But in no case was the introduction of changes a mere paper war involving numbers of soldiers and equipment. We attempted to create a body that will be far more flexible and viable. I believe that we succeeded. Some formations and units disappeared, particularly the larger groupings of troops at Klatovy and Vimperk. Currently, the brigade is deployed in the regions of western and southern Bohemia, specifically within the garrisons at Susice, Janovice nad Uhlavou, Strasice, Klatovy, and Vimperk.

[Stana] It is frequently said that the best people have left the Army. Do you hold the same opinion?

[Prazak] I would not agree that the best people have left our units. But I also do not claim that we are not concerned about some of those who did leave. There are enough people who, even though they have stopped wearing the uniform, are continuing to work at jobs set aside for civil servants. A lot of people also had to leave on the basis of the results of the extraordinary evaluations. But I say again—the overwhelming majority of those who are serving in our units today are good professionals who were afforded the opportunity to show their capabilities.

[Stana] Did senior commanders have the opportunity to decide with whom they wished to cooperate, who would be assigned to functions, let us say, at staff levels and at company levels?

[Prazak] This rule was one of the basic principles governing the work of commanders. I can say with a clear conscience that the General Staff truly gave us a certain amount of freedom of action in that direction and that we attempted to make the best use of it. After a long period of the most varied notions and verbal assurances, we were given the opportunity at the brigade level to work independently. I would like to see us have a similar opportunity even with respect to the preparation of training, in the everyday command and control of units.

[Stana] Does the same rule also apply to you with respect to the battalions?

[Prazak] Anyone who, as a commander, had experienced the previously constant controls and so-called assistance, which, however, did not benefit anyone in any manner, cannot act otherwise. Yes, people at battalion level enjoy the confidence of the brigade command, and our mutual professional relationships have an appropriate form. In my opinion, this is one of the significant and substantial changes. A number of commanders are already saying today that it is far more complicated. But it is one of the first and essential steps along the difficult road to perfection and professionalism.

[Stana] What do you expect of the new organizational structure at brigade level?

[Prazak] People in all positions, beginning with the brigade commander and ending with the soldiers at company level, should be closer to each other. This could exert a decisive influence not only on mutual relationships, but also on the level of training and, last but not least, on one of the most problematic areas, which is behavior or, if you like, discipline. An improvement in command and control would then follow as a matter of fact. While we have already experienced a little of the command and control in practice, we have a lot more to learn with respect to discipline.

[Stana] If the Army lacks anything, it is undoubtedly a professional corps of noncommissioned officers, so-called career soldiers. The situation is not even favorable with respect to platoon commanders. Are you thinking, at brigade level, how to change the currently unfavorable situation?

[Prazak] We have a long way to go before we reach the ideal situation, and, in the immediate future, I do not believe that much will change in this direction. We are badly in need of good noncommissioned officers, but interest in service as a noncommissioned officer is minimal for several reasons. One of these is the fact that, even if we have an interested individual, we have nothing specific we can offer him. In brief, appropriate legislation is lacking. And no one will swallow the bait of mere words. For the most part, people ask what is in it for them. It is true that we also have a shortage of platoon commanders. For the present, we will have to staff these positions precisely with the best noncommissioned officers. We are also getting ready to visit military schools to offer future military professionals the prospects of service in our brigade. We would like to have them come to visit our garrisons even before they make a decision.

[Stana] Naturally, systems changes also call for certain financial expenditures. Do you have sufficient resources to realize your intentions?

[Prazak] We are not bad off. The only thing we are short of are resources for construction and housing services. For example, there is a shortage of funds to complete the facilities at Janovice—the mess hall, the military enterprise kitchen, the dispensary.... The other limits are adequate for the brigade.

[Stana] What kind of equipment does the brigade have?

[Prazak] Our battalions have T-72 tanks, Models 1 and 2 infantry combat vehicles, and the artillery has D-30 howitzers. The combined arms formations are, of course, equipped with special equipment.

South American Reportage on Klaus Visit

WA2104165994

For South American reportage on the visit to Chile, Argentina, and other South American countries by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, including reports on talks between Klaus and Argentine Economic Minister Domingo Cavallo, see the South America section of the 21 April Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Kukan Discusses Foreign Policy With UN Group

AU2104185794 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Apr 94 p 14

[TA SR report: "A Dialogue With UN Representatives"]

[Text] At a meeting with UN Deputy Secretary General Marrat Goulding on Thursday [14 April], Slovak Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan stressed that Slovakia's integration into Europe was the goal of Slovak foreign policy. He provided information on bilateral Russian-Slovak relations and underlined the fact that the Slovak Republic is interested in good political and economic relations with Russia.

Kukan also described the current relations between Slovakia and Hungary. He said that the level of emotions has stabilized, and Hungary has positively accepted Signals coming from Slovakia. Goulding was interested in whether Hungary had territorial claims. Kukan's reply was negative. Both officials agreed that the concept for changing borders in the Balladur plan was erroneous. Kukan also said that both countries were willing to sign a treaty under the European Union's auspices. The Slovak minister appreciated the fact that the Gabcikovo issue has been depoliticized, to a certain extent. Kukan also discussed the visit of UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali in Bratislava.

Kofi Annan, UN deputy secretary general for peacekeeping operations, appreciated, during a meeting with Kukan, the Slovak Republic's approval of the UN demand according to which Pakistani members of the peacekeeping forces will be trained at Slovak Republic facilities.

Eduard Kukan and Besley Maycock, Barbados's permanent representative at the United Nations, signed a protocol yesterday on establishing diplomatic relations. Both officials expressed their conviction that the development of mutual relations is in the interest of both countries.

Kanis on Defense Policy, 'Partnership' Plan

AU2104143994 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Apr 94 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Slovak Defense Minister Pavol Kanis by Milan Rusko; place and date not given: "I Do Not Feel I Have To Compete With Soldiers"]

[Text] *The minister of defense of the Slovak Republic is not, as he used to be in the past, a professional soldier. Pavol Kanis, historian and philosopher, combines in the present post his civilian views on the defense of the state with the reality of military practice and, together with the experts in the department, seeks the way toward the goals that stand above all narrow partisan or group interests. We asked him for an interview on the subject of the first weeks of his work in the present post.*

[Rusko] Sir, although you have occupied the ministerial post for only a month now, you have held talks already with several partners who have occupied their posts much longer. How would you assess these meetings?

[Kanis] That month—i.e., one-sixth of the government before the next parliamentary elections—passed very quickly. I have tried to fill the empty shelves I "inherited" as quickly as possible. The understanding of the important problems and integral ideas of their systemic solutions require much more time. The things are better in the sphere of foreign-security policy. It is possible to build on the long-term orientation trend of the Slovak Republic toward the transatlantic and West European security structures. Similarly, the efforts at a good relationship with the neighboring states and armies continue uninterrupted. My meetings with Hungarian Defense Minister Fur and Polish Defense Minister Kolodejczyk were carried out in this spirit. The talks with these two partners concerned the problems of security in Central Europe, cooperation between the defense sectors of the Visegrad Four countries, and the implementation of individual stages of the Partnership for Peace plan. They included very stimulating exchanges of views on cooperation in the military sphere and specific possibilities for cooperation in special production. I also consider the visit to Israel and the meetings with Prime Minister and Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin and Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres a success. They proved that there are no fundamental points of contention between the Slovak Republic and Israel. The approach of Slovak foreign policy to the Israeli-Arab relations is balanced and conforms to the criterion of rational detachment from the Middle Eastern disputes and conflicts. Concord and cooperation between the Slovak and Israeli military experts and manufacturers and exporters of special technology could be very interesting.

[Rusko] You are a civilian. What do you feel when you decide on issues that have always been dominated by soldiers?

[Kanis] It is true that I am the first civilian defense minister in this country. It has its advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is, above all, that I do not feel I have to compete with professional soldiers and that I can deal with the issues much more forcefully, regardless of the rank. Our Army is a young army. It needs numerous concepts and regulations that are a part of the legal basis for the operation of the army in a democratic state. This provides a lot of room for a defense minister, a civilian. I focus, above all, on the foreign-security dimension of the defense sector and the society-wide context of the mission and operation of the Army of the Slovak Republic.

[Rusko] What is the orientation of the Defense Ministry in the sphere of foreign contacts?

[Kanis] The Defense Ministry will base its plans in the sphere of foreign relations and international cooperation on the foreign political line of the Slovak Republic, the

Defense Doctrine of the Slovak Republic, which is to be submitted for approval in the government and the National Council of the Slovak Republic, and the Presentation Document, which is a specific derivative of the framework Partnership for Peace document. The security of the Slovak Republic is a component of European and world security. Therefore, in our efforts to guarantee our own security, we orient ourselves, above all, toward the North Atlantic Alliance, the Western European Union, the CSCE, and the United Nations. We consider stable, conflict-free, and fair relations with our immediate neighbors, with an emphasis on the development of multilateral cooperation, an important aspect of our national security. Cooperation in the military sphere with the countries of the Visegrad Four Group is of particular importance.

[Rusko] What specific steps will the Defense Ministry take in the implementation of the Partnership for Peace (PFP) plan?

[Kanis] The main purpose of the participation of the Slovak Republic in the Partnership for Peace plan is in cooperation with the NATO-member countries to gradually create the basic conditions for obtaining full membership in the North Atlantic Alliance. All of the consequential political entities in the Slovak Republic in principle agree on this step. Nonetheless, we are realists and are aware that the Partnership for Peace plan is also a result of considerations for the geopolitical interests of the Russian Federation in the Central European domain. At this time, after the signing of the framework Partnership for Peace plan by the individual states, we have reached the stage of the drafting and adoption of the Presentation Document, and this will be followed by the formation of the individual program of specific cooperation of each signatory with the North Atlantic Alliance. According to the adopted government policy statement, we will submit the Presentation Document to the National Council of the Slovak Republic. The individual plan, which expresses our joint will and specifies join actions, will be something like a bilateral agreement between the Slovak Republic and NATO. The main objective of military cooperation within the Partnership for Peace plan is the achievement of the degree of compatibility of the Army of the Slovak Republic particularly on the tactical and operational levels needed for its problem-free international cooperation.

[Rusko] One can hear about our obligations (PFP) and the modernization of the Army. There are certainly some budget limitations that must be overcome. Is it at all feasible?

[Kanis] We must apply two criteria in the defense sector, particularly in the process of building the Army of the Slovak Republic—economy and military strategical efficiency. In the drafted Presentation Document, we reckon with designating 1 percent of the 1994 Defense Ministry budget—i.e., 104 million Slovak korunas—to cooperation within the PFP. How much longer can the needs of defense be reconciled with the limited budget possibilities of the Slovak Defense Ministry? Not much longer.

Ministry Explains EU Application Procedure

AU2104185294 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Apr 94 p 5

[Unattributed item carried in the "You Ask, We Answer" column: "When Will We Join the European Union?"]

[Text] A reader, J. H. from Povazska Bystrica, would like to know why, of the Visegrad Four states, it is Poland and Hungary that are making haste with their applications to become full-fledged members of the European Union [EU]. The Foreign Ministry Press department has issued a statement on this matter from which we have selected the following:

"On 13 April, Foreign Minister E. Kukan received in Bratislava the ambassador of the Polish Republic, J. Korolec, who, on behalf of the Polish Government, requested support from Slovakia for the Polish Republic's official application to join the EU, which Polish Foreign Minister A. Olechowski had submitted in Athens on 8 April to the current Greek chairman of the EU. Minister E. Kukan welcomed the submission of Poland's application to become a full-fledged member of the EU. At the same time, he said that Slovakia will also submit its application for EU membership following the completion of the ratification process for the European Association Agreement in all of the parliaments of the EU member countries. Until then, all of the necessary measures will be taken in order to achieve such standards in political, economic, legislative, and social development that, along with the other applicants for EU membership from Central Europe and the assistance of the EU and its member states, the Republic attains full-fledged membership in the EU as quickly as possible."

It is also necessary to point out that Poland and Hungary have already gone through the ratification "sieve" of approval for their association agreements and, therefore, were able to submit their applications to become full-fledged EU members.

Kovac Views Talks With Hungarian President

AU2104143894 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Apr 94 pp 1, 11

[Alena Borovickova, Milan Rusko dispatch from Litomysl, Czech Republic: "Views Presented in Debate; Meeting of Seven Presidents Ended on Saturday"]

[Excerpts] A debate before television cameras in the Reception Hall of the Litomysl chateau on Saturday after 1300 was the highlight of the two-day meeting of the presidents of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Germany, Poland, Austria, Slovakia, and Slovenia. [passage omitted] After the television debate, Slovak President Michal Kovac met with Slovak journalists. He briefed them on the bilateral talks he had conducted in Litomysl. With Vaclav Havel, he spoke about the present state and prospects of relations in the cultural and civic spheres and about ways of preventing mutual alienation [between Czechs and Slovaks]. At the meeting with his Hungarian counterpart, Arpad Goncz, the two presidents agreed that the "Slovak card" should not be played in the coming election campaign in Hungary, and vice versa. Michal Kovac informed the Hungarian president that the present government would carry out adjustments to the designation of names of communities and surnames but that the issue of territorial and administrative arrangement would be postponed on the basis of an agreement reached with the Hungarian parties [in Slovakia]. While meeting the German president, Michal Kovac asked him to mediate a meeting between the German chancellor and the Slovak prime minister. With the Slovene president, they agreed that Milan Kucan would pay a visit to Slovakia in the second half of the year.

According to Michal Kovac, the meeting in Litomysl was significant because vitally important issues of relations and the integration of the Central European region were discussed. As he noted, meetings like these can contribute to overcoming tension and possible disagreements that occasionally result from intergovernmental talks.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on 18 April on page 1, in the "Single Question" column, carries the following reply by President Michal Kovac to Maria Sisulakova's question about his meeting with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz in Litomysl: "We agreed on further meetings, but, above all, we reaffirmed that we must not slacken the efforts to establish a good atmosphere at home and in relations between our states. We realized that the results of elections in Hungary and, subsequently, Slovakia might bring new and, it is hoped, positive aspects in this regard, in that they may establish prerequisites for us to also address other outstanding issues. We believe, however, that many issues could be tackled even now, before the elections in Hungary. This concerns problems of a specialist nature that have been needlessly politicized. In this regard, however, we had to take into consideration the fact that, in the matter of Gabcikovo, for example, the Hungarian parliament is bound by its previously adopted position. These issues can be partly clarified before the elections, but the more serious aspect—that is, the overall attitude toward the hydroelectric power project—can be changed only after the Hungarian elections."]

Sobona Selected To Manage HZDS Campaign

AU2104143794 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
18 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by Martin Krno: "Rather Vague Indications; The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Presidium Decided on the Head of the Election Campaign Team"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Saturday [16 April] meeting of the National Presidium of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], held behind closed doors, as has by now become a tradition, dealt with the assessment of the political situation in Slovakia and the policy statement of Jozef Moravcik's coalition government, the movement's strategy for the coming elections, and the election of new members of the HZDS Political Board.

The meeting, which was chaired by HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar, decided that Viliam Sobona, former minister of health, will become head of the election campaign team. So far, the Farmers Party of Slovakia [RSS] is the only party to have officially expressed its readiness to form a preelection coalition with the HZDS. As HZDS Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik told a briefing after the HZDS Presidium meeting, talks on closer cooperation with other political entities are under way—for example, with the Slovak National Party and the Christian Social Union, whose substantial part, however, now seem to be inclined toward cooperation with Cernak's National Democratic Party. Kozlik characterized the tone of the speech, with which the prime minister introduced his policy statement in parliament, and the contents of the document itself as confrontational. He said that the coalition government's main goal was to discredit the preceding cabinet of Vladimir Meciar and warned against concessions to Hungarian political parties in the spheres of culture, education, and the water regime at Gabcikovo. Deputy Katarina Tothova considers the fact that the government parties are not doing anything to prepare the elections slated for late September or early October to be an indication that this election date is jeopardized. On the basis of an interview given by Deputy Prime Minister Ivan Simko to Radio Free Europe, she also voiced the serious suspicion that the "provisional" government is seeking constitutional changes. When asked by PRAVDA, however, she was not able to specify those changes. Another indication, she said, was the intention to lower the present 5-percent threshold for political parties to win seats in the National Council, even though no representative of coalition parties has officially discussed this issue yet.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on 18 April on page 2 carries a 200-word TA SR report on a meeting of the All-Slovak Executive Committee of the Farmers Party of Slovakia, held in Zvolen on 17 April. The report notes that members of the Executive Council "unanimously approved the formation of a joint electoral coalition with the HZDS."]

Professionalization of Army Proceeding

AU2004202594 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
16 Apr 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Professionalization Is Beginning"]

[Text] Presov—Defense Minister Pavol Kanis visited the 14th Mechanized Division in Presov yesterday. He met with its commander, Colonel Jan Cmilansky, and with the Division's corps of commanders. During their discussion, he briefed them on the current situation in the Slovak Army. The defense minister said, among other things, that the number of personnel in our Army should be reduced to 46,667 by November 1995, in accordance with the Vienna Agreements. "For this reason, procedures have to be adopted to ensure that the state's defense capability is not weakened. This is also necessary because the Army has already been reduced by 32 percent due to its division following the breakup of Czechoslovakia." At a meeting with reporters, Kanis said, in connection with the Army's professionalization, that "preparations are already under way in this regard. Professionalization is proceeding in the two mechanized battalions in Bratislava, and it will be enough to professionalize 390 noncommissioned officer posts in order to make a significant positive change."

Unemployment Falls Slightly in March

AU2204075094 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 19 Apr 94 p 3

[TA SR report: "A Slight Decline in Unemployment"]

[Text] Bratislava—Some 370,493 job seekers, of whom 98,666 were receiving social security, were registered at labor offices in Slovakia at the end of March. According to a report from the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family, the unemployment level in March fell from 14.76 to 14.54 percent.

The highest unemployment level, 26.3 percent, is in the Rimavska Sobota District; it is followed by the Spisska Nova Ves and Vranov nad Toplou Districts. The lowest unemployment level is still being recorded in the Bratislava-City (4.27 percent), Trencin, and Kosice-City Districts. The number of vacancies increased in March, but, despite this, there are 40 job seekers per vacancy.

Crime Rate Increases; Trust in Police Decreases

AU2104185694 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 16 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by "(vie)": "Crime Rate Has Not Yet Hit the Bottom"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In the past two years, the number of explained crimes declined sharply. No wonder that only 2 percent of the people trust the police corps, while it was 80 percent two years ago.

By providing large bribes, many gangs succeeded in getting close to politicians, judges, and the police. At present, a case of an "entrepreneur" who owes 800 million korunas in taxes from oil deals is being closed.

Two weeks ago, a group of Slovaks living abroad tried to offer an advantageous loan of $7.3 billion. Investigations have shown that money laundering was involved.

Why has the democratic system brought such a monstrous increase in crime?

"Before 1989, we were a police state, with 12,000 State Security agents plus tens of thousands of police collaborators. We will need three generations to really become a democratic state," Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner said.

There are 18,000 foreigners living legally in Slovakia, mostly former Soviet Union citizens and people from Yugoslavia and Vietnam. Some 20,000 to 30,000 foreigners live here illegally and are committing crimes. [passage omitted]

Kohl Promises Support in EU Membership

LD2104150394 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1359 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Budapest (DDP/ADN)—German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has promised Hungary support in its efforts for full membership of the European Union. Germany would accompany Hungary on this path "with advice, but above all with actions," Kohl said at a news conference in Budapest today at the end of his official visit to Hungary. Without Hungary, Europe is only a torso and such a Europe is undesirable.

He will use Germany's EU presidency, which begins on 1 July, to win support in the EU for Hungary's admission, as he has done with Spain and Portugal, among others, the chancellor said. He will moreover place on the table the "proposal, as yet not popular in Europe" that Hungarian deputies should enter the European parliament in an advisory capacity.

This is naturally above all help for self-help, said Kohl. The key to EU membership lies with Hungary itself, which is today a "notable example of stability in a difficult period of transformation." The Budapest government is the only one in Eastern Europe to last a full legislative period and can point to considerable successes in spite of all its problems.

Germany supports the French proposal of reaching a joint stance on the Bosnian issue, as well as President Yeltsin's warning to the Serbs. The Russian president must also be included in future developments.

Kohl spoke against the idea, voiced in Budapest recently by Bavarian Prime Minister Edmund Stoiber, of introducing partial EU membership. The principle still holds that the chancellor is the one who determines the main direction of policy, Kohl said in response to a query. The best preparation for EU membership is closer links between the community and those states that wish to join. To this end "the terminology has to be sorted out," Kohl stressed. For example, Poland is not in eastern Europe, as is so often said, but in central Europe.

Prime Minister Peter Boross indicated that Hungary will shortly be approaching the UN in connection with possible compensation for the losses it has incurred from the blockade against Serbia. The close cooperation with Germany is an important factor in involving his country in Europe's economic system. He expressed the hope that with German help Hungary will become a full EU member by the year 2000 or perhaps even earlier. [passage omitted]

Bekesi Views MSZP Party Structure, Elections

AU2104201494 Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 19 Apr 94 pp 6-7

[Interview with Laszlo Bekesi, economic expert of the Hungarian Socialist Party, MSZP, by Eszter Radai; place and date not given: "Room for Maneuver and Economic Policy—The MSZP's Technocrat"]

[Text] *After internal debates, he was put in the third place on the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] national list. The realistic nature of his program is seen as a negotiating basis even by those people who would reject coalition with the MSZP out of hand. He is often the topic of conversations and many guesses can also be heard about him while he does not give many interviews. What are his views on the party's tasks in the near and distant future, and what are his views on his own role? Eszter Radai interviewed Laszlo Bekesi.*

[Radai] The politicians of rival parties and even independent political analysts claim that [MSZP Chairman] Gyula Horn is using you to make the MSZP appear presentable and suitable for coalition—while there is a tough struggle between the two of you. What are your views on this?

[Bekesi] If this was true, I would find it flattering that I can make a whole party presentable or suitable for coalition. Naturally, no one ever denied that there are a number of trends in the MSZP. It is usually me who represents the technocratic views that are based on rational facts, which place the economy in the forefront, and push the ideological considerations into the background.

[Radai] Assessing the coalition possibilities, leaders of other parties have recently been stating that they would not have any objections to the Socialists if you determined the party's image and it could be guaranteed that your program would be implemented. For example, [Federation of Young Democrats, FIDESZ Chairman] Viktor Orban said that "Bekesi's program could be a basis for negotiations."

[Bekesi] A party that has any self-esteem does not normally accept conditions that are set for it by its rivals. The program that is known as the Bekesi program was accepted by the MSZP and this is our official program. Seeing this as a negotiating basis means a potential partnership. However, it lacks seriousness to tell us in a message whom we should replace and where we should place people. As matter of fact, not much later we learned from the FIDESZ's other statements that no matter what kind of program the MSZP has, relations between these two parties will not be formed on the basis of the programs, rather, on the basis of the sentiments of the two parties' leaders toward each other, on the basis of the past, on prejudices, and I do not know what else....

[Radai] Is it certain that the Bekesi program will remain the MSZP's program? In the past years, we have had plenty of chances to see that it is possible to deviate from programs. Will you be able to resist the pressure, especially if it is exerted by the trade union leaders who are in the coalition? Are you not afraid that you will be blackmailed regularly?

[Bekesi] The election alliance with the National Federation of Trade Unions in Hungary [MSZOSZ] does not imply the dangers that are often mentioned. For example, the dangers that, in the government position, the MSZP's ability to act will be hampered by the dominance of trade unions; the economic policy based on modernization will be replaced by an economic policy based on distribution; trade union demands can be asserted much better from within than from outside; or that politics and interest representation will be mixed up. These dangers do not automatically follow from an election alliance.

[Radai] However, we are talking about a prominent place on the MSZP's list; [MSZOSZ Chairman] Sandor Nagy is on the second place, ahead of you.

[Bekesi] This certainly has a negative message, but I would not like to discuss this just now. However, if the danger of setting up a trade union type government was in the background of the election alliance then I would be the first one to protest most decisively. In fact, I would not even participate in this. This would be just as bad for the country as the confirmation of another conservative governmental cycle.

[Radai] Nevertheless, I do not understand why you exclude the possibility of this.

[Bekesi] Because the MSZP accepted a modernization program on which its whole political program and campaign is based, and on the basis of which it decided its coalition principles and laid them down in writing. Otherwise, the program would have been modified, its modernization goals would have been softened, and actual trade union demands would have been included in it that—if this is what the electors wish—then could be implemented as a government program. However, this did not happen. On the other hand, we never denied—in fact, I usually emphasize this—that, in the course of implementing the program, a government that includes the MSZP will fight tough battles with the interest lobbies, in spite of the election alliance with the MSZOSZ. Therefore, we are not to prepare for some kind of a peaceful coexistence based on concessions, rather, the chance for the self-restriction of trade unions will increase, and the basis for this will be established precisely by the good relations between the MSZP and the trade unions.

[Radai] In your view, are people who will vote for the Socialists aware that they will also be voting for a very strict economic program that is much more liberal than social democratic?

[Bekesi] It only makes sense to describe an economic program in economic philosophy terms if a government or country has a choice. However, today in Hungary, the room for maneuver is so narrow and the path is so determined that a realistic economic policy necessarily has to have more liberal than conservative or social democratic elements. Rather than meaning that the MSZP is promoting a liberal economic policy, this means that in this situation, being realists, the MSZP is also accepting the goals that have a liberal content. In fact, I do not even protest against being called a liberal economic policy maker because I am convinced that for decades, this will be the only realistic economic policy in Hungary.

[Radai] Has your move from the original eighth place to third got anything to do with the fact that the Bekesi program has become the official party program?

[Bekesi] The official explanation for the eighth place was that the party leadership adhered to two basic principles when it made up the party list, namely that it should reflect the party hierarchy, and that it should ensure the agreed positions of election allies. In this context, my eighth place was justifiable because I do not participate in the work of the party's leading bodies, I am only a simple parliamentary deputy. However, the national list can, at the same time, be seen as a kind of party message as to what programs and people it considers important for itself. Therefore, my eighth place was unacceptable for the party's majority and naturally for me, too. The election committee that made the original proposal obviously had not properly assessed the situation and the power structure. It would have been a strange decision that would not have strengthened respect for the party if a politician who played a major role in drawing up the program had been pushed into the background. The assessment of the power structure was mistaken because it was based on the assumption that the congress and the party's majority that is to make the decision would accept this. It did not accept this, in fact, there was an grassroots outcry.

[Radai] [Prime Minister] Peter Boross recently said that the MSZP is deceiving its electors by not naming its prime ministerial candidate. Why and for how long do you wish to keep this issue pending?

[Bekesi] Until the elections, or even further. We will decide this at an extraordinary congress after the elections but before the coalition talks. Social-liberal, Christian-social, or broad social-liberal-conservative coalitions require a completely different prime ministers. A concrete person can even prevent and exclude certain possibilities. As we do not wish to limit ourselves and do not wish to prevent the establishment of an efficient coalition, we are now waiting, and we do not exclude the possibility of finding a suitable person, who enjoys the confidence of the other possible coalition partners, from outside the party.

[Radai] Is it also possible that the MSZP will win the elections with a big majority, reaches very good results, and still offers the prime ministerial chair to someone else?

[Bekesi] No, this is impossible. A party that plays a determining role after the elections and generously offers its prime ministerial function to someone else does not exist anywhere in the world.

[Radai] An increasing number of people, including some Socialist politicians, have been saying that they are afraid that the MSZP will win too well, and it will find it difficult or impossible to find coalition partners.

[Bekesi] It is undoubtedly true that a strong imbalance in the power structure can make it difficult to form a coalition. It is unlikely that we will reach more than 50 percent. Therefore, it has to be a coalition. However, if the MSZP's majority is so big that the partners would be in a subordinate position, they might prefer to be in an opposition role. Of course, this is only speculation. On the basis of various assessments and my personal experience, I do not exclude the possibility that we will win the elections. However, I am not expecting a landslide victory. Should this nevertheless happen, it will present a new situation.

[Radai] What are your views on [Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ campaign chief] Balint Magyar's recent statement according to which the SZDSZ is only willing to enter into a coalition with the MSZP if the liberals can be the leading force of the coalition?

[Bekesi] This stance is a bit difficult for me to accept. I am not saying that we cannot talk about this, but ultimatums should not be made, because this is a very delicate and complicated issue.

[Radai] Is it possible that you will be the prime minister?

[Bekesi] Hardly. This is very unlikely because the MSZP's leadership has completely different ideas. I do not know what most people in the party think about this issue because I have never been assessed this way.

[Radai] Would you object to Gabor Kuncze being prime minister?

[Bekesi] Not at all. Kuncze is a nice person, calm politician, and I have a very good relationship with him. It is a different matter what kind of political power structure, election results, and coalition agreements are needed for Kuncze's name to be put forward. It is certain that I could work very well with him, I think he is an excellent person.

[Radai] What will the MSZP do if it wins the elections but does not find any coalition partners?

[Bekesi] If it does not find any coalition partners because all parties distance themselves from it then it will have to go into opposition. This is the only case when a victorious party has a political and moral basis to go into opposition. In theory, it is also possible—although I cannot imagine this—that we accept governing in a minority. This would probably only last a very short time. We would probably be turned out of office on the first possible occasion. In that case, new elections would have to be called.

Finance Minister Szabo Views Budget Issues

AU2104120394 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Apr 94 pp 1, 18

[Interview with Finance Minister Ivan Szabo by Miklos Merenyi; place and date not given: "Deficit Is the Cost of Growth"]

[Text] The upset economic balance is a harbinger of growth, states Ivan Szabo, with whom we also tried to draw the balance of his barely more than one year in the Finance Ministry. According to Szabo, growth increases the demand for investment goods, therefore, we have to expect a deficit in the payment balance for years to come. This will establish the foundations for the long-awaited boom.

[Merenyi] Nowadays, the biggest economic policy debates are induced by the attempts to find out what the upset macroeconomic balance indicates: The fact that the crisis is prolonged or that growth has started. What is your view?

[Szabo] The truth is somewhere between the two. The same figures can indicate different phenomena. At the end of 1992 and the beginning of 1993, the primary cause of the decline was our reduced exports, which in turn was mainly caused by the recession in Western Europe. However, now, the same figure of balance deficit indicates something else. The bigger half of imports consisted of investment goods in 1993, too.

The payment balance will continue to be negative for another three to four years and Western recession will play a decreasing role in this. The main cause will be the investment needs of growth.

[Merenyi] This has never been questioned by anyone. At the same time, the statistical data give the impression that the decisive section of imports is used for stocking up raw materials and for consumer goods. Some of the foreign resources cover public consumption.

[Szabo] It is undoubtedly true that public consumption has increased to a certain extent. However, this was not decisive in 1993, either. If I disregard the fighter planes bought from Russia in exchange for the Soviet state debt, then half of the remaining amount consisted of engineering imports. Half of the consumer goods imports consists of pharmaceutical products which again is not in the luxury category. Therefore, the proportions are increasingly shifting toward investments that are the basis of growth.

I admit that stockpiling in the enterprises is an existing phenomenon, however, the 4.3 percent industrial growth consumes this: The industrial sphere began to grow already in 1993 and the agricultural sphere will do this in 1994. The GDP may rise by as much as 1.5 percent. This will not, of course, be an even growth, but it is certain that we are over the worst. It is possible that the point is that the state of the economy is better than can be shown by statistics.

[Merenyi] The balance of payments deficit ultimately means the import of foreign resources because it is only partially covered by the inflow of working capital. In other words, the debt is increasing. For how long?

[Szabo] We also have to add here that the repayment of debts means a huge withdrawal of resources from the Hungarian economy. Therefore, the real question in my view is if the incoming resources do actually serve economic growth. In other words, whether there will be some gain from it or will it only help to finance the budget deficit. In 1991, the budget situation was much better, perhaps we should have taken on more loans for modernization at that time. However, at that time, everyone was very cautious about increasing the foreign debt.

[Merenyi] And mainly the Hungarian Democratic Forum was cautious.

[Szabo] Not only. The attitude that the requirements of the balance have to be placed above growth was generally accepted in financial circles. This was partly justified by the need to suppress inflation. Nevertheless, it might have been worthwhile increasing the debt by a few billion U.S. dollars at that time.

[Merenyi] Has the government decided on any measures that will improve the balance?

[Szabo] The cabinet is very seriously dealing with the issue that once we managed to induce some growth, it should not be quashed by a general suppression of consumption which also cools off investments. We have to find methods to curb the population's consumption, especially the luxury consumption.

[Merenyi] Is it not shortsighted that in December 1993, at the Finance Ministry's initiative, the limit that defined to what extent the Hungarian National Bank [MNB] can finance the budget deficit was lifted?

[Szabo] In my view, the formulation of the central bank law proved shortsightedness because it did not detect the negative processes in the economy, and it remained insensitive to the budget difficulties. Raising the former 4-percent financing limit to 80 billion forints meant that economic reality was taken into consideration. Naturally, in the long run, it is best if the central bank simply does not participate in financing the budget. I am now expecting a quiet breakthrough on this. The central bank as a foreign currency authority has just given permission to the Finance Ministry to issue forint bonds to people classed as foreigners under the Foreign Exchanges Act. This is the first step.

[Merenyi] Has the Finance Ministry's relationship with the MNB improved since the bank started to conduct a less strict financial policy and personnel changes were also implemented?

[Szabo] This is not an issue of personnel. All institutions protect rock solidly their power positions. The central bank, for example, protected its foreign exchange monopoly while the commercial banks began to issue bonds on the international capital and money markets. However, at the time, the MNB did not give permission to the state to do this.

[Merenyi] The debate on the forint devaluation also accompanied the government's operation. What are your views on this now?

[Szabo] If the pressure of wage increases above the level of inflation is not removed through a social agreement, devaluation only has a short-term benefit and much rather helps the prices than exports to increase.

[Merenyi] Among the many contradictory indicators, there is a clear one: The budget deficit is at the planned level. This has not happened before. What is the reason?

[Szabo] Although occasional "blows" exist on both the revenue and expenditure sides, we managed to keep them in balance. In addition to this, we have also had a change of attitude: When we calculated the 330-billion-forint deficit, we tried to produce a realistic figure. We have also achieved positive results in the area of tax discipline. In addition to this, for the first time this year, the issuance of bonds is scheduled which eliminates the liquidity problems of the central budget.

[Merenyi] So the taxpayers are better at paying. Has the management of publicly financed institutions become stricter?

[Szabo] This is a question of the reform of state finances. We are not working on an overall program, rather, we are examining the duties of the central sphere. We will be able to include the results of this in next year's budget.

The discipline of management has to be strengthened and has to be newly regulated in laws. From financing in proportion to time, we have to progress toward financing that is linked to performance. It is important to regulate anew the management of treasury assets, and to accept the law on public purchases; we will hand over the draft bill on this to the next government. It is also unavoidable to reduce the number of special funds, at least to the level that is used in the European Union.

[Merenyi] These are obvious facts for experts. Why have these measures not been taken in the past years?

[Szabo] Measures have certainly been taken. However, they are very difficult to implement. The deficit of state finances is so big now that necessity will force the implementation of these measures....

[Merenyi] Why is the government's decision being delayed on the second step of bank consolidation?

[Szabo] The government decided in 1993 that the capital injections have to be completed by 31 May. Concrete technical preparations are in progress, and this does not require further government decisions. The government will receive reports after the general meetings.

[Merenyi] At what stage is the report that you will hand over to your successor on the work of the Finance Ministry?

[Szabo] The report on the Finance Ministry's personnel and structural situation will be completed by the end of May. In addition to this, we are preparing an overall report on the processes that have been completed and the ones that are at the preparation stage. I am convinced that my successor will receive a well-arranged and clear report whichever party he should represent. I would have been very happy if I had been able to take over the leadership of finance in the same way. Unfortunately, I found nothing but empty drawers. I did not receive anything from my predecessor. I learned from this and I know how inconvenient it was.

[Merenyi] Will this summary include the list of guarantees taken on by the government?

[Szabo] On the basis of end-of-March data I can say that we are maintaining 48 guarantees based on individual government decisions and these amount to 122 billion forints. At the most, some 22 billion forints will apply to 1994, however, it is unlikely that the whole amount will be drawn. The final scheduling of the guarantees will be contained in the bank contracts, and a significant amount of them can only be drawn after a five- to 10-year wait. Therefore, I believe that if we adhere to the 3-percent limit defined in the law on state finances then we are not taking on a big risk. At the same time, we are helping the development of industrial capacities suitable for export production for which it is justified to give guarantees.

Pawlak Briefed on Power Supply Situation

LD2204101194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0900 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Apr—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak visited the National Power Distribution Center (KDM) this morning. He acquainted himself with the power supply situation in the country. The visit was linked to the lignite miners' strike, which might lead to cuts in the power supply.

"We told the prime minister that we are meeting demands for electricity in full but that we have no reserves and have to open all hard-coal-fired power stations and heat- and power-generating plants," Ireneusz Radzio, KDM deputy manager, told a PAP journalist.

According to him, if the lignite-fired power stations work at low capacity, using hard coal as they are today, there should be no problems with energy supplies this coming weekend. "If nothing changes on Monday, some power cuts might be expected," he added.

Official: Army Must Adapt to NATO Standards

LD2104120894 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1121 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Apr—According to First Deputy Defense Minister Jerzy Milewski, the Polish Army must adapt itself to joint actions with the NATO states' armies. When Poland becomes a member of NATO, its entire Army or a part of it may find itself under foreign command, Milewski said today during a meeting with journalists in Warsaw on Poland's defense policy.

Milewski and other high-ranking representatives of the National Defense Ministry emphasized that Poland will not be able to defend itself in anything greater than a local conflict. According to them, there is no great threat of an outbreak of a global conflict or a great conventional war in Europe today.

Walesa Reiterates Objection to Rosati

WS2104132194 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by "an" and "knysz": "Cease-Fire at the Top; Neither Rosati Nor Borowski for Finance Minister?"]

[Text] *During yesterday's meeting with the deputies' club of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], Lech Walesa agreed to the introduction of deputy ministers from the coalition to the Defense Ministry [MON], the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW], and the Foreign Ministry [MSZ]. But he did not change his mind on Rosati.*

Up to now, the president has successfully resisted attempts by the SLD and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], who want to have their deputy ministers in the so-called Belweder ministries. "We cannot have a situation where every coalition will have its own ministers," Walesa repeated yesterday.

SLD leader Aleksander Kwasniewski responded: "Does that mean you have nothing against this coalition's presence in MON, the MSZ, and the MSW?"

"You are taking shortcuts," Walesa defended himself. But, in the end, he gave in and agreed to coalition deputy ministers being in MON and the MSW, but "using the MSZ as a model." That means that political deputy ministers from the SLD and the PSL will join MON and the MSW, but they will not administer the ministries.

The SLD did not manage to get anything done regarding Rosati. Walesa reminded them again that Professor Dariusz Rosati, who is being promoted by the SLD for finance minister and deputy minister for economic affairs and who was rejected by the president, used to be on the governing board of the Foreign Debt Service Fund. "Do you want people to go around and say that he got the post to cover up the affair?" the president yelled.

Marek Borowski, deputy chairman of the SLD club, asked the president bluntly: "Rosati is an honest man. Will you sign his nomination?" "I am not pressuring you [the SLD], so don't pressure me, either. If we are to return to anything, it should be you [Borowski]," Walesa replied. He also admitted that "even though I had quite a few disputes with Borowski, as far as his expertise is concerned, there are no reservations."

While talking with GAZETA WYBORCZA, Kwasniewski did not rule out that, in this situation, the SLD might give up Rosati, but, until talks with the PSL, Rosati continues to be the coalition's candidate. "Of course, I would like Borowski to be finance minister, but you just don't enter the same river twice," Kwasniewski explained. Another SLD politician said it is not very likely because Pawlak does not get along with Borowski.

We asked Borowski whether he would like to be finance minister again. "There are at least six reasons for which I would not agree. For now, it is enough to list one of them—no offer has been made to me," Borowski replied.

Kwasniewski on SLD-Walesa Talks, Legislation

WS2104150094 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, a leader of the Democratic Left Alliance, by Andrzej Woyciechowski at the Radio Zet studio in Warsaw on the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Woyciechowski] Radio Zet's guest today is Aleksander Kwasniewski, a leader of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Good morning to you, Sir.

[Kwasniewski] Good morning.

[Woyciechowski] I have read all of the press commentaries after yesterday's historical meeting between the SLD Sejm deputies and the president, and there are two titles: GAZETA WYBORCZA says "Cease-Fire," whereas TRYBUNA says "Agreement, Agreement, Agreement." Is it more like a cease-fire or more like an agreement?

[Kwasniewski] I certainly would hesitate to say that this was a historical meeting because I would rather reserve such assessments for a few months from now. But what definitely did happen was the establishment of contact between the SLD Sejm Deputies Club and the president. Such contact was missing for a long time, and, if there was any, it was just through the press and in a rather sharp tone, too. I believe the meeting may be more like a cease-fire as far as political issues are concerned in 1994, and also the possibility of focusing on the most important issues like preparing a constitution and necessary economic measures. I think there is agreement on some detailed issues. I mean we came to an agreement about the coalition's participation in the presidential ministries and also a certain procedure associated with the issue of the finance minister. So I think that on these specific issues... [Kwasniewski pauses] We also agreed on cooperation regarding constitutional issues. So on these issues, there is agreement.

[Woyciechowski] A cease-fire is something where people shoot at each other and then say: Why don't we stop for a moment before we resume shooting?

[Kwasniewski] You know, I think the conversation was important and honest because, among other things, neither side has any illusions; by the way, I began the meeting by saying this. The SLD is made up of a group of people and voters who have never voted for Lech Walesa, neither in Solidarity times nor in political times [sentence as heard]. On the other hand, Lech Walesa, coming as he does from a different camp, has never spared his remarks addressed at us, which were often very critical or, I would even say, malicious. And this situation is a fact and nobody can expect that even if very close cooperation takes place, there will be feelings—love or falling in love. But what is important is that, as a result of democratic decisions after 1993, both the president, who was elected in 1990, and we, who constitute the coalition's main core after 1993, are burdened with responsibility. This was a conversation between partners who are aware of the responsibility and who are aware that people do not wake up in the morning to read about new conflicts at the top of the power structure, but they would like to wake up in the morning to good music and positive news, then go to work in peace and return from work with a feeling of safety. It would be good to have a job at all. [passage omitted]

[Woyciechowski] Having seen the short pieces on the television newscast last night—we could see a very cordial atmosphere, laughter and relaxation—does that mean that Sejm deputies for the SLD, those who were there and their electorate, will vote for Lech Walesa in the next presidential election, or will they vote for Aleksander Kwasniewski?

[Kwasniewski] You know, I think your forecasts are too far-reaching. Let me begin with yesterday's atmosphere. I think it was one of [hesitating] seriousness. The questions were tough, and part of the meeting was conducted in silence, which is hard to....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] And the television did not show that?

[Kwasniewski] I do not know what it showed. I have not seen it. The meeting lasted almost two hours, so I do not think that the television could have shown it in its entirety. But one must remember that holding the audience's complete silence and interest, where you have 200 Sejm deputies plus about 100 journalists and television teams—that is not easy to do. There were moments of very serious conversation. [passage omitted]

As far as the presidential elections are concerned, I think that—by the way, this was the goal behind the meeting—the election campaign should not start too early unnecessarily. We are condemned to it, anyway—I mean in a positive sense—in 1995, which is the scheduled time for the presidential elections. I think it is unavoidable that, just like any other political campaign, this one will be filled with confrontation, disputes, and strong words. I would also like the campaign to be about merits, but I realize that such appeals often are really wishful thinking instead of having to do with reality. It would be good if the campaign were to begin at a specific point in time, not sooner than....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] It has already begun at a certain point in time—several months ago. Who initiated the campaign?

[Kwasniewski] I think the campaign is a result of the fact that one person in Poland is determined, and it is no wonder. I mean Lech Walesa, who is eager to be reelected. He spoke out about it for quite a long time yesterday. And he spoke in a tone of self-confidence, saying that he at least has no doubt that he will indeed be reelected president. But he did speak about some seven years many times, so I am not sure how to... [Kwasniewski pauses] I think he meant seven years from today. From time to time, he mentioned seven years, so it was clear that he is interested in both a full implementation of his tasks in the current term, which is quite understandable, and in running in the 1995 election. But, like I said, the goal behind the meeting was to have 1994....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] And what about yourself? Would you like to be president?

[Kwasniewski] I have spoken about this many times before. On this issue, neither I nor my political party has made any decision yet. Of course, we are not blind. We can see that there are all sorts of opinion polls published in which my name appears. Of course, I would be lying if I said it gives me no satisfaction that I rank high or even in first place. But I want to be clear on that: I have not made any decision, and I think that a year in Poland—and this is what is needed more or less to make a real decision on initiating the presidential campaign—is such a long time that there will be all kinds of events that will either increase such [hesitating] pressures on me or will weaken them and my readiness to make the decision. That is why I do not discuss this right now at all, and I admit quite frankly that I go to sleep without dreaming about the presidency, and I wake up after a good night's sleep also without thinking about the presidency. There are simply other issues I think are more urgent right now.

[Woyciechowski] How do you evaluate the results of the meeting now that more than 10 hours have elapsed? Are you satisfied with the results?

[Kwasniewski] I believe that the most important thing that was achieved was the return to communication between the president and....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] That simply means talking, something that has been missing for how long?

[Kwasniewski] Well, as a matter of fact, I have not had the opportunity to talk with the president since the Sejm and the Senate started their work. It was our last meeting. After that, we had contacts related to all kinds of state celebrations or other; however, these were not occasions to hold talks. Thus, communication was established, and, in my opinion, it is the most important thing. As I said, as a consequence of the elections, both the president and we—participants of the coalition—bear responsibility for the same. I have often opposed, also here at Radio Zet, the concept, imposed by some advisers of the president, that the president is in opposition to the coalition. This is impossible. We are in the same configuration of power of the very same state. Therefore, it is impossible to... [Kwasniewski pauses] The president may cooperate with us well or not so well. He may or may not like the coalition. However, we are obliged by the Constitution to cooperate with one another. Thus, in this sense, there is a chance to improve cooperation, to make it more efficient, to avoid conflicts.

[Woyciechowski] Yesterday afternoon, after this two-hour meeting with the entire Parliamentary Club of the SLD, a face-to-face meeting, as the press called it, was held between you and the president. Was it really a face-to-face meeting, between you and the president only, or were there also presidential ministers and your SLD colleagues at the meeting?

[Kwasniewski] It was a meeting between only the president and me. I think that....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Without a microphone, without....

[Kwasniewski, interrupting] That is right. I think it was a face-to-face meeting, that is certain. Now, I can only hope that no one heard that, but I cannot bet on that....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] How long did the talk last?

[Kwasniewski] Probably a half-hour or so.

[Woyciechowski] Did you drink coffee, mineral water, or something better?

[Kwasniewski] No, no, there was nothing better. There was no coffee or mineral water, either. It was a talk during which we tried to come to agreement on....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] What was the talk about?

[Kwasniewski] First of all, about what the channels of cooperation and information should look like. Aside from that, there were also a few other issues that we discussed. However, it was a face-to-face talk, with no witnesses, so I believe that this must be borne in mind.

[Woyciechowski] It was a confidential talk, and you cannot speak about it. Do I understand you correctly?

[Kwasniewski] Well, it was not confidential. I think that sometimes such talks are held between people, and they want to discuss certain issues between themselves. This is actually what happened. Now, because it was a talk after a longer period of not talking, the meeting was all the more important. That is, at least I attach great importance to this talk. I believe that such talks with the president will be held now and then. I would really like that.

[Woyciechowski] What did Walesa really promise the SLD yesterday afternoon, or last night?

[Kwasniewski] This was a public meeting, and we not only can but also should discuss it. I believe that among the elements that were agreed upon... [Kwasniewski pauses] elements about which, one can say, there is agreement, is first of all that a very important issue, or even the most important issue, in 1994 will be to prepare the constitution jointly.

[Woyciechowski] That means that the Small Constitution will not be amended after all?

[Kwasniewski] No. The Small Constitution is the second stage here, as it were. This means that we cooperate in line with the existing law within the framework of the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly. Participating in it will also be representatives of the president. They will propose their ideas and concepts. This is their inalienable right. I believe that we will try to....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] That means that the year 1994 will be the year of the constitution?

[Kwasniewski] That is right. I would....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] When will the constitution be adopted? In December?

[Kwasniewski] I believe that December is a good time—before Christmas. It is a good idea to finish this year with something very specific....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] And, until that time, the Small Constitution will not be amended?

[Kwasniewski] I will even say more. I believe—and this is how I understand our joint decisions of yesterday—that we will not change the Small Constitution at all, and, without any changes, it will exist until the new constitution is adopted. We can imagine that, because rather little time will elapse from December, when the constitution will be adopted, to March—that is, to the nationwide referendum—I believe that we should not really make any experiments with the Small Constitution. Now, all of the correct motions... [Kwasniewski pauses] Because many motions are correct, I believe that even the recently discussed deputies' motion is rational. I think that these motions should be discussed during work on the big constitution.

[Woyciechowski] As you say all this, these are all enormous decisions, of historical importance. These decisions were made by the president on the one hand and the SLD club on the other. What will happen if the club of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] does not agree to that?

[Kwasniewski] Well, I do not think we should fear that because we happen to have identical views on the issue of the constitution. The cooperation that we have had so far with the PSL club has been absolutely full, and I cannot see any dangers here. However, I think it is really important to finish the work on the constitution after five years of talking about it. The participation of the parliament and the president, as well as our invitation of other, extraparliamentary groupings—all this creates the indispensable infrastructure to finally do this, to present it to the people. The nation should decide whether it accepts or rejects this constitution. The point is that we are finally discussing specifics; so far, we have been wondering how the constitution should be prepared, but we have not been discussing the heart of the matter—we have not been discussing the constitution.

[Woyciechowski] What else did Walesa promise? The presidential ministries—the Ministry of National Defense [MON] and the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW]?

[Kwasniewski] That is right. That is....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] These will be deputy ministers who... [Woyciechowski pauses] They will be there but they will do nothing?

[Kwasniewski] I believe that these comments are entirely unfounded. If there were to be ministers who dealt with nothing, I would have to say that we are not supporters of wasting taxpayers' money in such a silly way. We have proposed this concept all along. It has now been most fully included in the proposals of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ]. It lies in the following....[Kwasniewski pauses] and I believe that it is the direction of changes in the state administration in general. We have a group of civil servants who have signed contracts, who cannot be removed as the government changes. However, there is also a political group—the minister and his deputies, who come and go as governments change. In the presidential ministries, it would look like this: The minister—that is, the number-one person—is a man who is agreed upon with the president and his deputies, who deal with various issues, but who also participate in preparing the strategy of the ministry....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] In other words, they know everything that is happening....

[Kwasniewski, interrupting] They both know it and exert influence on it, and they can....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] They are members of the coalition. What will it be like? MON and the MSW. Where will a PSL man go, and where will an SLD man go? Has this been established?

[Kwasniewski] No, it has not. I believe that the construction proposed in the MSZ is available to both coalition members; this means that such representatives will be appointed by both parties, and they will be in all three ministries.

[Woyciechowski] The last issue: Rosati. Will Rosati certainly not be the finance minister? Will Borowski return?

[Kwasniewski] I want to say one thing. I also discussed this with the president during a private moment in the meeting. It would be very bad if the issue of Professor Rosati ended up in an unclear atmosphere that is related to slander. One of the questions was: Can decisions be based on slander? Incidentally, the president is a man who has often been slandered himself. Thus, caution and, first of all, protection of a good name should be required here. I believe that, in this sense, it should be stated clearly that Prof. Rosati is an honest and competent person, whose abilities should be taken advantage of in Poland. Of course, one can discuss whether today's political configuration allows us to do this. A lot seems to suggest that it is not this moment. However, I want to say clearly that Prof. Rosati is an outstanding man, and I believe that we will be able to take advantage of his talent more than once. Now, as for filling the post in the Finance Ministry, the issue is definitely becoming increasingly urgent. [passage omitted]

[Woyciechowski] If I understand you correctly, after Rosati's candidacy, there will be no other candidates. For the time being, Borowski, and then we will see. Did I get you right?

[Kwasniewski] I believe that very serious talks will be held on this issue very soon. This should be dealt with. As the recent developments, such as the issue of the popiwek [tax on excessive wage increases] have shown, there must be a person coordinating the economic issues who would make risky and difficult decisions. It is good that the economy is working as it is without the finance minister, but, really, we all need real decisions, made by someone, to feel better. I often find myself in a situation of a man who is supposed to make decisions but who does not have the necessary information and knowledge on a given issue.

[Woyciechowski] The last question: What will the situation be like in Poland over the next few months? Will it be peaceful?

[Kwasniewski] I believe it will. I believe that we have ensured at least several months of peace, concentration on economic issues and the constitution. However, we will also have elections on 19 June. These will be local elections, so they will certainly not whip up great political emotions. Nonetheless, they will make our lives more colorful until the summer holidays.

[Woyciechowski] If there are going to be a few months of peace, was yesterday's meeting historical or not?

[Kwasniewski] If we manage to end 1994 with the constitution, and if we manage to avoid many disputes at a time, I believe it was an important meeting. Now, whether this was a historic meeting—I am rather cautious about such evaluations. I hope it was.

[Woyciechowski] Thank you very much for the interview.

[Kwasniewski] Thank you very much.

Columnist Says Walesa Destabilizes State

WS2204104394 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Apr 94 p 2

[Commentary by Karol Malcuzynski under the "Points of View" rubric: "An Unavoidable Conflict"]

[Text] *It is only a question of time before another conflict breaks out between the coalition and the president. And that is not because the coalition is left-wing but, rather, because it is strong.*

I do not agree with the atmosphere of relief and the sense of success associated with the agreement between the coalition and the president, and with the alleged overcoming of the crisis. The conflict will return, and its impact will be double what it has been up to now, creating a danger for the principles of the state's functioning.

The president gave us another portion of his political ideas and intentions, which are quite disturbing. The contents of this wave of conflicting ideas and incoherent statements are harmful and insulting, given that they were voiced by the head of state.

What did Lech Walesa offer us?

First, that he will adopt a constitution outside of parliament (even though this is nonsense), that he will personally dissolve parliament, and that he will undertake measures that are outside the law. Lech Walesa has made a decision that possible amendments to the Small Constitution amount to attempts to bring down the political regime, and everyone is supposed to hold his breath. Walesa wants to build some mystical force that will destroy the current arrangement, and he also thinks that people who say he destabilizes the state should be brought to justice. In a normal country, such views would mean the end of a political career. Public opinion would completely destroy such a politician.

Well, I am going to take a chance and say this: Lech Walesa, not just over the past several weeks but throughout the majority of his term of office, has not only been destabilizing the state but has also been trying to blow it up. Under the pretext of maintaining some abstract kind of balance, he destructs every arrangement that is not to his liking, while ignoring the disastrous, long-term effects of his policies for Poland. He incites and initiates conflicts among parties and different groups that have managed to gain even the slightest balance. He demoralizes part of society by coming up with unrealistic ideas and promises, and he sets in motion some forces that he is not capable of controlling later on.

All of this is done with just one purpose in mind: to gain and maintain for himself the widest possible powers not subject to anybody's control (the president makes the impression that only he, perhaps with the aid of the Holiest Virgin, is capable of ruling the country). It is only a question of time before a very major conflict between the coalition and the president will take place, and it is not because the coalition is left-wing. Even if it were right-wing or centrist, the situation would be the same. The reason the conflict will occur is because of the strength of the coalition, which not only can implement its policies without the president's permission and without his ideas but is also a direct threat to Walesa because it may come up with its own, strong candidate for the next president, and, in this way, it can take away from Walesa what he has been taking for granted up to now—that he will rule Poland for another five years.

The coalition, by making threats to implement changes in the Small Constitution, is trying to limit the president's powers because, in reality, these powers paralyze the state's functioning. It is not an attempt to change the political system because the system itself has not been defined. In reality, the Small Constitution is a compromise solution—some say it is a rotten compromise, which the president imposed on the previous weak parliament and weak government in order to widen his powers. The Constitution is a provisional document that regulates the system until a regular constitution is adopted through the usual procedure. The Constitution is not a dogma. One can make amendments through lawful procedures in such a provisional document.

Walesa himself thinks the Small Constitution is imperfect, and he wants to amend it, but the only direction of changes he wants is to widen his own powers and, in effect, to establish a purely presidential system that he would like. In that sense, we should be grateful to President Walesa for having himself led to a loss of face by a system he wants to introduce.

I also think President Walesa has been demonstrating some very disturbing states of mind. He is convinced about his mission and about not making any mistakes. It is not hard to believe the latter because sometimes he pronounces completely contradictory views or forecasts on a given day, and one of them is bound to come true in the end.

Walesa sometimes comes through as a mixture of Nikodem Dyzma and the gardener from Kosinski's novel *Wystarczy Byc [Being There]*. Many people will be bitter over such a statement, and for many reasons. He is such a terrible disappointment to all of us. Many of us voted for the man. "Historically speaking," Walesa deserved that. But was there an alternative? Did the majority of Walesa's voters not think that that they were choosing the lesser evil?

In his good times, Walesa was famous for his sayings. In one of them, he compared people he was getting rid of to horses one selects, depending on the task. He would say: "You are a race horse and you are good, but right now we need draught horses," or "Right now we are crossing the great water, and we are looking for horses that can swim well and not those that jump over hedges and obstacles."

Lech Walesa used to be good and he used to win. But we have a different type of race now. The style of executing the presidency by Lech Walesa has exhausted itself, and he should resign—whether at the end of the term or before is up to him. By leaving on his own, he will spare us the view of a fall and probably also of humiliation.

KRRiT To Issue Decree on Program Presentation

LD2104204294 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] The National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council [KRRiT] has reported that the government, the Belweder Palace, and political parties will not have a guaranteed right to present their activities in special television programs on public television. The council will next week issue a decree that says news programs will be the place for presentation of politicians' current activities. Television heads will be able to grant time slots to the government, the president, or the Sejm, but they will not be obliged to do so.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Lukasz Perzyna] In news programs, television ought to maintain balance in the presentation of the main political forces. Yesterday, the draft decree was commented on by the Polish Television Program Council. Its members wished the formulations contained therein be made more precise, but, in the view of the KRRiT, general principles ought to suffice.

[Lech Dymarski for KRRiT] It was proposed that this balance be substituted by a formulation as to political parties that have real significance in political life. But someone immediately asked how real significance can be measured. Further, can this be limited to the political parties that exist in parliament? Well, it cannot be. A party that is in parliament will, perhaps, after some election or other, function outside of parliament.

[Perzyna] Those who make programs will be responsible for them; that means the board of television, the editors of particular programs, the journalists themselves. Everyone ought to be directed by the principles of professional ethics.

[Dymarski] The journalist has an obligation to know a lot and to be responsible. So this decree does not contain any such formulation as to what a journalist may not do.

[Perzyna] The National Council will next week specify the principles in force in radio and television for the campaign before the June self-government elections. [end recording]

ROMANIA

Constantinescu Views CDR's Political Ascent

AU2004142994 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 18 Apr 94 p 3

[Interview with Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania, by Irinel Radulescu; place and date not given: "The Opposition Cannot Trigger Early Elections"]

[Text] [Radulescu] Professor, you are the president of a political force that achieved good ratings in recent public opinion polls and has great chances to gain access to power. How would you assess, from that new position, the current political, economic, and social situation in our country?

[Constantinescu] From the political angle, I believe that a simple qualitative and quantitative analysis of the current balance of forces could not be conclusive if it is done by ignoring the economic and social context. Currently the fact that three separate public opinion polls reached the same conclusions raises two issues: the CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania] is leading, closely followed by the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], and, contrary to all expectations, the audience for the extreme left parties has proved to be limited. I believe that the growth of the CDR occurred owing to mutations within the opinion of the workers while we also managed to keep our traditional electorate. That shift was caused by the fact that beginning in December

1993 the CDR accepted the trade unions' proposal to establish a real social pact that should be guaranteed by a coalition government set up by the major political forces in the country. The CDR did so while the PDSR delayed making a decision merely to opt, after four months, for a monochrome government pursuing a harsh policy with respect to the trade unions. The second issue concerns the number of the PRM [Greater Romania Party] and PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] followers and it consists in the fact that the aforementioned parties were unable to gain in their ratings because they could not use their principal weapons—demagoguery and populism. Those weapons pulverized from the outset, in the very moment they decided to support a government that is distrusted by 70 percent of the population. Under such circumstances I believe that in the future a major role in the changes we all wish will be played by the peasantry.

[Radulescu] You said that the program you presented last week offers solutions and stages that have to be completed over the next 18 months. How should one interpret that deadline—is it signalling that you have given up the idea of early elections, is it an offer made to the current ruling party, or is it neither of them, but rather a third solution found by the CDR?

[Constantinescu] We pondered all possible variants because Romania's current situation is so grave that one cannot afford to hesitate or perform experiments. The deadline of 18 months was believed to begin the moment a new government begins its activity. That government should be an anti-crisis one and if it were to be set up by the opposition alone, it might well be a sacrifice government with a mandate that is limited in time to 18 months. But even in such a case agreements should be reached with the PDSR and the unions. No serious policy can be conducted without dialogue and agreements based on mutual respect and trust.

[Radulescu] This means that there is no firm CDR option to hold early elections...

[Constantinescu] The opposition cannot trigger early elections. That can be solely achieved by the president of the country in cooperation with the parliamentary majority. The opposition should be prepared for elections. I would like to point out the PDSR's cynical way in which they approach this issue, on the one hand, by saying that early elections would be a catastrophe for the country, and, on the other, they launch the electoral campaign. Probably, they want to trap us by luring us into an electoral campaign in which the material means and the possibilities are unequally distributed and thus distract the attention of public opinion because currently they cannot offer them bread so they offer them circus shows. In the short run the opposition will continue to protect the interests of the citizens, while in the long run it will protect national interests. Our priority is not to gain victory, as a political force, but rather to halt the decay of the economic and social situation.

[Radulescu] The CDR, as an alliance, is currently facing a number of internal difficulties, such as the recent problems with the PAC [Civic Alliance Party], the "convulsions" of the liberals within and outside the CDR, and, generally, the multitude of ideologies condensed within the alliance. Is this formula still viable?

[Constantinescu] Over the last one and a half years everyone has been predicting the disintegration of the CDR. However, that event has not occurred and now it is hard to anticipate that any political grouping belonging to the CDR could afford, despite lesser fits of vanity, to secede from the alliance. Of course, life is not easy inside the CDR, but reality has proved two things: We managed to elaborate a program that suits all doctrinal and ideological tendencies and we managed to have all our documents adopted by consensus. My creed and my role is to maintain our unity.

[Radulescu] Mr. President, about a month ago the "battle" for Transylvania also began. The PDSR and the PD [Democratic Party] have conquered very important positions in that area. What is the CDR's offer regarding its national policy and its policy with respect to its ally, the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania]?

[Constantinescu] All that agitation has been generated by the weakness of the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party], by its erosion caused by its long cooperation with the current rulers and its participation in gambling schemes. As far as the CDR's relations with the UDMR are concerned, things have not always evolved smoothly, but eventually most of the disputed issues could be settled. I believe that the national issue is a very serious one, but one should also keep in mind that merely 8 percent of the population is concerned over the interethnic issue, whereas a much larger percentage focuses on economic and social issues. As a matter of fact, running on separate lists in the last elections, the CDR obtained the most votes in Transylvania.

[Radulescu] How do you assess the future evolution of the CDR's relations with the state power?

[Constantinescu] The CDR's intention, which was also expressed in the manifest published a fortnight ago, is to replace general and theoretical discussions by talks intended to spot practical solutions to overcome the crisis situation. However, the PDSR is currently blocked by its electoral pledge, namely implementing a reform that does not hurt, as well as by its nature of being a party of cadres, which makes it be the defender of a group of interests made up of the political, economic, and administrative bureaucracy, which is not interested in reform. This makes it difficult for us to give it a blank check in the form of a PDSR government enjoying the support of the opposition. Cooperation is still possible, but first we have to conclude very precise agreements regarding a number of concrete measures to be taken before exact deadlines, as solely this could make us selectively support them in Parliament.

[Radulescu] You are the personality that obtained the best ratings among the opposition. However, within the CDR there are also strong pro-monarchy tendencies. Is that not a contradiction?

[Constantinescu] The pro-monarchy options of some of the CDR member parties do not contradict the constitution. Abiding by the constitution, there is a complicated procedure to change the state order, the whole process requiring at least two referendums. The whole campaign that was waged against me and the CDR was based on allegations that we want to change the constitution. However, no one in the CDR has raised that issue. The largest part of the percentage of votes obtained by the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party] might coincide with the one of the pro-monarchy option, but one has to respect the freedom of opinion of a certain part of the population.

Continued Fighting Reported in Gorazde

Serbian Tank Hits Refugees

AU2204105394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Report by Enes Musovic from Gorazde]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The chetniks have been firing selectively at civilian targets this morning. The refugee center has been hit. At about 1030 a tank caused bloody havoc in the Red Cross refugee center, where the old and the weak have been housed. Since this facility is still under constant chetnik artillery fire, the total number of casualties is still unknown. So far the bodies of four killed, and five wounded old folk have been dragged out. The evacuation of others is still under way. We have just received information that a tank shell in the center of Gorazde has killed one person, and wounded six others. This is just one illustration of the hell in Gorazde, just one example of the suffering of these people. [passage omitted]

Tank Attacks Reported

AU2204084494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Report by Fahrudin Becic from Gorazde]

[Text] This morning's attacks, which started at 0540, intensified at about 0800. The entire city is again targeted, but the area around the hospital and the hospital itself, half of which is almost completely demolished, are exposed to the heaviest attacks. It is impossible to provide aid to the wounded, what with the constant attacks with tanks and rockets and the lack of all kinds of medicine and sanitary material. The lives of the wounded and the medical staff are in constant danger.

The tanks on the right side of the Drina River are only several hundred meters from the hospital. At 0845 they moved a bit closer to the center of the city, demolishing it house by house on their way. At 0910 the chetniks opened heavy small arms fire from all their positions on the right bank. However, the front lines have not moved and the entire city is still under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

The chetniks are attacking fiercely on the left bank. The district of (Obarac) is under attack, while tanks have been demolishing the 1 May Street from the direction of the city stadium. The attacks are also intensifying at the defense line toward [word indistinct], where the aggressor has been bringing reinforcements. [Word indistinct] missiles have been fired from Ustipraca at the eastern sector, and from (?Stubiste) at the southern sector.

Muslims Reportedly Shell Serbs

LD2204023594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0004 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Cajnice, April 21 (TANJUG) - With NATO aircraft buzzing overhead, Moslems launched a violent artillery attack from Gorazde on Bosnian Serb positions on the right bank of the Drina river on Thursday [21 April] afternoon. Three Serb soldiers were wounded in the shelling, which has set fire to a large tract of forest, two kilometres south of gorazde, the local command of the Bosnian Serb Army has said. The Moslems were again using schools, hospitals and residential buildings for their operations against the Serbs, the Serb Army command said. The Moslem media have alleged that the Serbs are attacking these locations, and the falsehood has been picked up by many world media.

Bosnian Serbs on Wednesday unilaterally declared a ceasefire and agreed to the deployment of two platoons of U.N. peacekeepers in the area, in line with an agreement struck with U.N. officials on Tuesday. The Moslems have once again spurned the peace offering and are continuing to attack. Moslems are continuing to attack Bosnian Serb positions on other fronts in Bosnia as well, and are bring in reinforcements to Brcko in the north, which they are keeping under constant artillery fire.

In the Doboj area, also in the north, the worst Moslem attacks have been from small arms, hand grenades and mortars at Teslic. Bosnian Serb positions at Teslic, south of Doboj, have come under a steady stream of mortar fire, eliciting a response in kind, which has effectively put an end to the Moslem operations. Moslems were also opening small-arms and sniper fire at the Serbs on the Trebava front, east of Doboj, Bosnian Serb sources reported.

TANJUG: Muslims Reject Cease-Fire

LD2204115194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Cajnice, 22 Apr (TANJUG)—The Muslim military and civil leadership from Gorazde has rejected the Serbian side's offer whereby all combat activities would be halted and the warring parties would be separated by a demarcation line running along the Drina, TANJUG reporters have learned from Serbian military sources. The Serbian side's proposition was rejected late last night. Heavy fire from all weaponry was opened on Serbian positions shortly afterward. Fighting resumed this morning along the demarcation lines on the left and the right banks of the Drina, the Herzegovina Corps [of the Bosnian Serb army] reports. It adds that one Serbian fighter was killed and several were wounded in last night's clashes. [passage omitted]

UNHCR Doctors on Situation

AU2204122194 Paris AFP in English 1153 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Geneva, April 22 (AFP)—Herewith is the latest radio message received Friday [22 April] morning from two women doctors working for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] in the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde, in eastern Bosnia, and released by the organisation here. "The last two days here are a living hell. I'm sure you have all the casualty figures and do not need them again. I want instead to give a picture of the daily lives of the people here. Both residents and refugees are crowded into crumbling buildings waiting for the next shell. When it hits, many are killed as there are such crowds in each building. It is usually many from the one family. The wounded lie for hours in the debris as it is suicidal to try and bring them to the hospital. One UNHCR local worker said he could hear the cries of the wounded in the houses, on his journey to our cellar yesterday. All 3 UNMO (UN military observers) cars are now engaged in ambulance service. There is no safety of effective treatment in the hospital.

"Shells batter down the walls there and machinegun fire rakes the wards. Twenty people were confirmed killed in one of the hospital apartment yesterday. The Serb excuse for targetting it, is that it is a military institution. I've been in all parts of the hospital a hundred times in the last month and can assure the outside world that this is a lie. The theatres and all sterilizing equipment were destroyed by a shell yesterday morning, so no further operations can be carried out. Now the hospital has little more to offer the patients who get there alive, than sympathy. The dead are hastily buried at night by covering them with a thin layer of sand. If it ever gets hot here, there would be epidemics of disease. Our refugees have increased in numbers to approximately 100 now, mostly women and children. As yet, we are lucky in that only one child was wounded and is still alive. They pack the stairs to our cellar and when the shelling gets particularly heavy, we bring them into our living quarters. They are so quiet and leave again for the upper floors when things get quieter. It was some of these children we asked to send their plea to Geneva last night and gave us these messages from their hearts.

"They have little food and we cannot help them as our rations would be gone in one hour if we tried. At least we can give this little band water when ours is running but God knows how long they will last. They all have terrible stories to tell, but I cannot speak to them or look them in the face as I am too ashamed at how little we can do for them. Only occasionaly, as when dressing some of their wounds, do we hear these stories. One old lady cried for her relative, an eight- month's pregnant lady who was killed together with her three children by a direct hit on their apartment on April 19. Another man with burned hands was the only survivor of the fire that burned the UNMO's worker and three others to death the same night.

"Presidents (Bill) Clinton and (Boris) Yeltsin want to hold talks about the future of Bosnia next month. There will be little left in Gorazde by then, but corpses and rubble".

"With best regards"... xxx and xxx (names retained by UNHCR for reason of safety)

Aid Groups Make Appeal

AU2204115894 Paris AFP in English 1146 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Paris, April 22 (AFP)—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the French-based humanitarian aid group Medecins sans Frontieres (MSF) launched a joint "urgent appeal" Friday [22 April] for a ceasefire in Gorazde to allow first aid and evacuation of the wounded. Medecins sans Frontieres (Doctors without Borders) said it asked French President Francois Mitterrand Thursday to intervene on the matter and Mitterrand expressed his full support for the initiative, a spokesman said.

"The situation has worsened tragically in Gorazde in the last few days," the group said in a statement. "Most of the wounded are dying from lack of care, the hospital is partially destroyed, water and electricity have been cut and food stocks have been shelled." Most of the 1,324 people wounded since the latest Serb offensive started against the Moslem enclave on March 29 are "civilians, women, children and old people," it said.

Civilian Casualties Reported

AU2104163794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Report by Mediha Colo]

[Excerpts] [Begin recording] [Colo] [words indistinct] This is best proven by the information that was this afternoon forwarded to us by Esad Ohranovic, president of the Executive Council of the Gorazde District:

[Ohranovic] We have over 100 dead today. Nothing is known any longer. We are constantly counting. Nobody knows anything here any longer. [passage omitted] Today, we had more than 20 children killed. Is there anyone to stop this?

[Colo] In several localities within the town, whole groups of people were killed by the chetnik grenades. One massacre also occurred in the direct vicinity of the hospital:

[Ohranovic] The hospital is small and a great number of patients are lying outside it, whom we cannot admit [word indistinct] in the hospital, even though the hospital is not safe either. We have been forced to accommodate patients in the nearby [words indistinct]. This place, that is to say, accommodation, was attacked with various arms, from tanks and guns, on several occasions today. First, tank grenades destroyed a protective wall around it and then shells started flying directly at this dispensary. There were 35 patients in the dispensary, and out of these 35 only 7 people were pulled out alive. Therefore, regarding all others, we do not know anything as everything is in ruins. However, we anticipate that 28 have been killed. The people from the nearby buildings and shelters tried to approach this locality to pull out the survivors, however, they could not reach them as they were opening fire from antiaircraft machine guns, antiaircraft guns, snipers, and tanks, and nobody can get there. There is chaos, and only sporadic cries can be heard, which are probably their last cries. The entrance from where the people were coming to help this site was hit directly by a tank grenade and five people were killed there instantaneously. Two nurses were immediately killed, too. [passage omitted]

Serbs Give Withdrawal Ultimatum to Army in Gorazde

LD2104171494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] The Serbian aggressor forces have issued an ultimatum to the forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in Gorazde, demanding that they withdraw completely from the right bank of the River Drina. They can remain on the left bank only in the 3-km circle around the town center. This has been announced from the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Zagreb.

Silajdzic Views Ultimatum

AU2104181694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] In light of the ultimatum that the chetniks have issued to the defenders and the residents of Gorazde, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic gave the following statement:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] An hour ago, we were informed that the representatives of the aggressor (?had handed) an ultimatum to our forces in Gorazde, demanding that our forces withdraw completely from the right bank of the Drina River, from Gorazde, and from the left bank (?with the exception of the very) center, where [words indistinct].

If our forces do not do this today by [word indistinct] (?afternoon) the representatives of the aggressor threaten to destroy everything in Gorazde, including [words indistinct].

Therefore, instead of the NATO ultimatum we have the aggressor's ultimatum. Naturally, we have informed all the relevant factors about this, including [UN envoy] Mr. Akashi, [UN Protection Force] General Rose, Washington, and naturally, we have sent a letter to the chairman of the UN Security Council, demanding urgent actions to prevent a new catastrophe in Gorazde. [end recording]

UNPROFOR Orders Convoy To Return to Sarajevo

AU2204124594 Paris AFP in English 1229 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 22 (AFP)—United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander General Michael Rose ordered a UN convoy heading for the eastern Bosnian town of Gorazde to return to Sarajevo Friday [22 April], an UNPROFOR spokesman said. The order to return, issued around 1:30 p.m. (1130 GMT), was made "for tactical and political reasons," spokesman Rob Annink said. The convoy had been blocked by Serb women protesters.

Karadzic Sends 'Open Letter' to World Leaders

LD2104173394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Apr (TANJUG)—President of the Serb Republic Radovan Karadzic today sent an open letter to the leaders of Russia, the United States, China, France, and the UK saying that an opportunity has now arisen to reach a final solution to the crisis in Bosnia.

In his letter to Presidents Yeltsin, Clinton, Jiang Zemin, Mitterrand, and Prime Minister John Major, a copy of which has been forwarded to TANJUG, the president of the Serb Republic said that Serbs unilaterally proclaimed a cease-fire, but Muslims did not want it.

"Both sides, not only one, must support peace and end this war," Karadzic said. "In its effort to attain a balance of power on the ground, the international community is only prolonging the war. At the same time sanctions and threats against Serbs are encouraging Muslims to remain on the war path."

In his letter to the five statesmen, Karadzic says Western countries keep repeating that their approach to the conflict was a mistake, even that some mistakes were repeated, some of them being even more serious.

"The latest American initiative was a fatal mistake, because the starting point was a presupposition that the Sarajevo model of pacification could be applied to all safe areas. However, this is not possible because of geographical and other reasons. The American initiative could create a situation of 'neither war nor peace'; it would lengthen rathen than end the conflict."

"We believe the only way of achieving instant peace would be to proclaim the entire territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina a safe area, taking into consideration two realities—one is the Muslim- Croat federation and the other is the Serb Republic," said Karadzic.

The Serb proposal, stressed Karadzic, aims to establish a general cessation of hostilities. This means, he adds in the letter, an instant cease-fire and the cessation of all military actions, followed by the separation of forces and by negotiations.

"The end of the war is only possible through a political agreement," Karadzic said, adding that the agreement could only be possible if the fighting stopped.

"The general cessation of hostilities is therefore the only solution," said Karadzic in his letter to the five statesmen whose countries are permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Krajisnik Terms Clinton Plan 'Total War'

LD2104152894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Jagodina, 21 Apr (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the assembly of the republic of Srpska in Bosnia-Herzegovina, stated today that he supports the idea of holding a U.S.-Russia-EU [European Union] summit on the Bosnian crisis. "As far as we are concerned, the summit can be held immediately, but I doubt that the Muslims' protectors wish the same," Krajisnik told Jagodina radio. The republic of Srpska assembly speaker said the new U.S. plan for Bosnia as presented by U.S. President Bill Clinton last night, if implemented, would mean "a catastrophe not only for this region, but also for the whole of Europe." Krajisnik said he hopes the international community will display enough wisdom and political resourcefulness, and will not allow these threats to materialize. [passage omitted]

According to Krajisnik, by his statement Clinton has announced a total war and a crisis that would certainly spill over the borders of former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serbs Reportedly Shelling Bihac From Krajina

AU2204092394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[Text] Karadzic's fascists are continuing with their attacks on the Bihac region, particularly on Buzim and the surrounding area, and the free Bosanska Krupa territory. The shelling of residential areas and the defense lines has continued throughout the night and this morning, particularly from the territory of the Republic of Croatia, that is, from the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina. These areas have been attacked from the back, while the local rebels and traitors have been shelling them sporadically from their strongholds in Golubovici and (?Travnica). During the night they fired at the Cazin outskirts, trying to instigate infantry clashes. Their main target is still the [word indistinct] production facilities.

On the Bihac part of the front, in the operative zones of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], and on the Grmusko-Srbljanski Plateau, the chetniks have been behaving in their usual manner, which means unselectively shelling the defense lines, firing with antiaircraft weapons and small arms, and infiltrating smaller sabotage groups that keep trying to penetrate well inside our territory. The chetniks have continued to bring in equipment from the occupied Croatian territory, deploying it in the hills surrounding the Bihac commune. They are also carrying out engineering work and digging in.

Serbs Offer To Trade French Hostages for Prisoners

AU2204051694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] The French Humanitarian organization (?Premiere) [word indistinct] has reported that Karadzic's Serbs have offered to exchange 11 humanitarian workers from this organization, whom they have held prisoner for two weeks, for 11 Serbian prisoners in Sarajevo. The association received this proposal in a letter from Dragan Kalinic, so-called health minister of the Bosnian Serbs. Kalinic wrote that among the 11 imprisoned Serbs are five doctors and two nurses, and added that the French humanitarians were caught when they tried to deliver non-humanitarian aid to the Muslims. The French Ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina informed the organization that the 11 humanitarian volunteers could be tried soon.

Zubak Views Disputed Issues of Federation

AU2104152294 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Apr 94 pp 4,5

[Interview with Kresimir Zubak, official of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna, by Dragan Marijanovic; place and date not given: "The Agreement Is an Achievement of the HDZ, Rather Than Komsic and the HNV!"]

[Text] Kresimir Zubak, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, erstwhile employee of a Doboj magistrate, recently appeared on the political stage, having risen from an official of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in his native village of Usora, to a presidential candidate for the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As he himself puts it: "From the mud of Usora I ascended to the White House," suggesting that he was a protagonist and cosignatory of all the relevant talks and undoubtedly historic documents, be it in Mostar, Sarajevo, Vienna, Geneva, and finally—in Washington.

This unobtrusive 47-year-old politician has returned with his aides from Sarajevo, where he took part in a new round of talks with the Bosniak-Muslim side regarding the successful implementation of the federal constitution, of which he is himself a cosignatory.

[Zubak] We went to Sarajevo following my telephone conversation and agreement with Silajdzic. That meeting was necessary because we had to discuss the reconstruction of the government, who will put whom forward as candidates for the offices of president, vice president, prime minister, and deputy prime minister of the federation. The highest officials of Herceg-Bosna also accompanied me to Sarajevo: Jadranko Prlic, prime minister; Ivan Bender, chairman of the chamber of representatives; Mariofil Ljubic, vice-chairman of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Mile Akmadzic, minister in the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina; and Zoran Buntic, chairman of our Judicial Council. We prepared a series of questions for our Muslim colleagues that should be answered.

The most important thing was to distinguish which institutions are, actually, authorized representatives of both peoples, which institutions are authorized to sign political agreements on the highest level.

[Marijanovic] What is your stance in that respect?

[Zubak] Clearly, those are the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] and the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], because the Assembly had been constituted on the grounds of the 1990 election results, and these two parties, each among its own people, had won an absolute majority. That fact makes the authority of those parties' officials unconditional. I stress this because certain individuals and newly founded political institutions are pushing themselves as legal and legitimate representatives of one or the other people, so people from those and such organizations are being put forward as presidential candidates. In Sarajevo it was determined that we, the Croats, should ensure as great a degree of political unity as possible within our national-political corps, and within our deputy's club in the parliament. Which is to say, we shall include in our talks not only HDZ deputies and political representatives of the Croatian people, but also those from other Croatian parties represented in the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while additionally, we shall involve also the Croats who are independently politically organized.

HDZ Sets the Rules of the Game

[Marijanovic] It seems that Croats have much more problems with their political unity in Bosnia-Herzegovina than other peoples, particularly Muslims. At the first session of the Assembly, that fact could not be denied, and the most novel thing is that the Croatian National Council [HNV] is putting forward Dr. Ivo Komsic as its presidential candidate.

[Zubak] At that session we also held a meeting of all Croatian deputies, we failed to constitute a compact club of Croatian deputies, but we were quite unified regarding our voting for the constitution. Our deputies voted for the proposal anticipating me as the president of the federation. According to the constitution of the federation, the Croatian deputies' club is the only competent body to put forward candidates, and no other body. If the HDZ has a majority, in that case it is the HDZ that sets the rules of the game. So, there is that much about the legality.

However, we have nothing, absolutely nothing against the HNV. Our orientation is democratic, and any individual or party should be allowed to express its political stance, to organize itself, and call itself by whatever name it wants. There is nothing we can deny the HNV in that respect. What we do deny is the right assumed by the HVN to claim that it is the only political body of the Croatian people that represents it legitimately. And we think that the HVN does not have such an authority. The platform on which the Washington agreement is based is also the platform of the HDZ, and nobody can lay claim to it. We simply shall not allow that. The content of the frequently ignored issue of Livno, when the Croatian people decided that it would support the independent and sovereign Republlic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a complex state, is basically founded on the political platform of the HDZ, and the results of such an attitude cannot be denied now by individuals who held quite opposite political views at the time and long afterwards. If that is so, then we rightfully deny the right of the HNV to politically influence the Croatian people in such a way, to choose and appoint its own people to government posts. It is not fair, and according to the new constitution the HVN is not competent to propose its own candidates at all.

[Marijanovic] Did you definitely confirm the aforementioned legitimacy at the latest meeting with Muslims?

[Zubak] That was one of the issues. We were present there as the delegation of Herceg-Bosna, involving its most responsible officials, and according to the HDZ Statute, all those who perform highly official duties are at the same time members of the party's council. The Bosniaks also had a highly competent delegation, headed by [Prime Minister] Silajdzic, who is, at the same time, the vice-chairman of the SDA. Also, all of his aides who took part in the talks with us, his ministers, are for the most part engaged in the leadership of the SDA. Komsic was also present when we declared, so to say, the verbal legitimacy of the two delegations, he also agreed with that, but later on, he still opposed it. Now it is clear to me that his candidacy was being prepared.

New Times, New People

[Marijanovic] The choice of candidates for president and prime minister of the federation is eliciting a great interest in the public, however, most probably an agreement on that issue also failed to come about this time, did it not?

[Zubak] We think that the president of the federation must be a Croat. We acquainted our partners in the talks with legal and political reasons for that. In that case, the Bosniaks would designate the vice president and the prime minister, while we would have a right to designate the deputy prime minister, who would be defense minister at the same time. When I say political reasons, I refer to the fact that, for four years already now, the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been a Muslim. On the other hand, in view of the fierce clashes raging between Serbs and Bosniaks-Muslims, we think that the Serbs might be more willing to accept the association with a Croat at the head of the federation. As for legal reasons, we refer to the existing constitution, that, in wider terms, may be applied to this situation. The constitution stipulates that successive presidents cannot be of the same nationality. Since Izetbegovic has been the president so far, then everything is clear.... We do not want, by any means, to complicate the implementation of the constitution, we are even ready, if Silajdzic happens to be put forward by the Bosniaks as a presidential candidate, to accept and discuss that combination as well. Not because we are against Izetbegovic, but rather because it is understandable that new times, new circumstances suggest new people.

[Marijanovic] What did you agree upon regarding the government? What will it eventually be like?

[Zubak] As for the government, we made an agreement regardless of any other documents. It will be reconstructed on the basis of the new constitution of the federation, and in that case we shall avoid parallel, dual governments. At that stage, our opinions slightly collided, because our views did not automatically harmonize, so we turned for help to experts. Their Minister of Justice Kasim Trnka is also an expert on the constitutional law, so we agreed that he works out an expert opinion in the form of a legal document. Because, we also proposed that the government could involve nine departments, while the existing government in Sarajevo involves more than 20 members at the moment. I think we shall reach an agreement on that issue next week as well, and when we finish that, then we shall discuss which ministerial office is to be performed by a member of which people. One has to keep in mind that the government will have to involve representatives of other ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well.

[Marijanovic] Did you discuss military issues as well?

[Zubak] We have not yet completely tackled that question. I have already said that in the new government the deputy prime minister will also be the defense minister. We assessed that the current heads and commanders of both armies have been quite successful in their cooperation, so it is also they who should state their views and opinions on the situation. True, we also discussed the special purpose production in war conditions, and some other things. Regarding those issues, we have not yet reached the phase when conclusions are to be made.

So Far, So Good

[Marijanovic] Is there a little truth in some unofficial information according to which General Ante Roso of the HVO is a candidate for the commander in chief of the federal army?

[Zubak] There will be no federal army. At least at this transitory stage. There will be a joint army composed of the two existing army structures. A joint staff will be established, but we have not yet discussed who could possibly be its commander. Like all other things, that will depend on a solution of the issue of defense minister. You see, everything, the entire national chain, is bound up with who will be elected president of the federation. Which means, if the defense minister happens to be Croat, then the commander-in-chief of that joint staff cannot be Croat. But the chief of the staff can be Croat. In any case, we have proposed General Roso for all the highest military functions in the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Marijanovic] What will happen with the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina in view of these changes?

[Zubak] It will function as usual until the next elections, just as Herceg-Bosna will, in political terms. New elections should resolve that issue, they are expected to take place in six months, but I personally doubt that the deadline will be met, in view of everything that is happening in the field.

[Marijanovic] What are the most concrete results of the latest talks?

[Zubak] There are many. The best results have been achieved in terms of guarantees given that all kinds of communication through the territories controlled by the HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be made possible. In addition, we shall establish customs and monetary systems quite soon, the media war is already abating, the refugees and displaced persons will return to their homes, prisoners on both sides are already being released. A lot of such things have been agreed upon, and results can already be seen in the field. Some things are developing unbelievably smoothly. Principles had already been established at the ministers' meeting in Mostar, before the Sarajevo meeting. So far, so good, but now it is impossible to enumerate all the fields that we discussed.

[Marijanovic] What currency will be used in the federation?

[Zubak] For the time being, the valid currencies in Herceg-Bosna are the Croatian dinar and German mark. The government of Bosnia-Herzegovina has accepted the German mark as their currency.

[Marijanovic] There is frequent speculation about the possibility that, if the kuna becomes the official currency in Croatia, and if the possible confederation between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina comes about, then the kuna may also become the official currency in the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Zubak] Financial affairs will be the most sensitive issue. As for the official currency, that will depend on agreement between the federation and the Republic of Croatia. Everything is regulated and foreseen by the confederal agreement. Among other things, it also foresees a common monetary policy, and many other common things. We, Croats, would like the kuna to become the official currency in the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as well.

[Marijanovic] When will the constituent Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina resume its work, and who will chair its meetings in the future?

[Zubak] The Assembly will meet again on 28 April, and by then we shall have settled all the questions we have discussed so far. In the first place, those connected with the election of president and prime minister. That will not be so difficult a job if political harmony functions. At that meeting we expect a formal confirmation of everything that we have politically agreed upon so far.

Tudjman's Historic Visit

[Marijanovic] Pressures that were put on the Croatian representatives, and also some publicly stated insults, particularly on the part of the representatives of the Bosnian political opposition, have left a rather bad taste in the Croatian public. Do you expect such things to happen further? [Zubak] Well, some unpleasent things happened, that is true. I guess it is the war that caused them to happen. We have settled all that. Actually, it is only the bad examples that the public has been familar with. There are Bosnian representatives who were very happy to see us in Sarajevo, even though we carried the flag of Herceg-Bosna. Safet Isovic, the famous singer and SDA deputy, publicly acknowledged that.

[Marijanovic] By your activities, you and your aides are expected to ensure the equal status for, as people put it, both the Croatian lieutenants and the Croatian dead [as published]. Are you aware of that?

[Zubak] All those who will perform duties in the federation's administration on behalf of the Croatian people, must ensure the equality of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of course, in compliance with law. Particularly in the field, in practice. We shall struggle for that with every breath. We shall struggle for the prosperity of the federation, and our people in it. The struggle of our living and dead in this war is and will remain morally, and in any other way justly valued.

[Marijanovic] The historic visit by President Tudjman to the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is to take place quite soon. How do you feel about that visit, and how do you assess its eventual effect on and significance for the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Zubak] A general assessment is that the upcoming visit by President Tudjman to Sarajevo, and perhaps to some other regions of the federation, will be yet another step by which the determination of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian people to implement what was signed in Washington, is shown. By that visit Tudjman confirms that in a symbolic way. The readiness of the Republic of Croatia, the greatest symbol of which is President Tudjman, to earnestly and thoroughly implement everything that was agreed upon in Washington, is very important for the future of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What will that mean for the suffering Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be seen in the way in which they will welcome President Tudjman. The Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina have never concealed their national feelings. That will be an extraordinary occasion for them to show their feelings again.

Mikelic Proposes New Cabinet to RSK Assembly

LD2104162394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Knin, 22 Apr (TANJUG)—At a session today of the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Prime Minister-designate Borislav Mikelic proposed a new Krajina government and outlined its program.

According to Mikelic's proposal for a multiparty cabinet, Milan Babic would become a new foreign minister, Rade Tanjga defense minister, and Ilija Prijic interior minister.

Milivoj Kricka, minister of energy and mining, and Ljubisa Budic, minister of urban planning, construction, and housing, who were in Djordje Bjegovic's cabinet, are expected to keep their posts in the new government.

Boro Rasuo has been proposed for the post of information minister and Uros Funduk for the post of justice minister. Stevan Djuric and Ratko Veselinovic have been proposed for the posts of health and development and industry ministers.

Other candidates are Dragutin Polic (culture and religion), Milan Padjen (transport and communications), and Stevan Ratkovic (education).

Milos Vojinovic has been proposed for the post of sport and physical education minister, Simo Sijan for the post of agriculture minister, and Mile Bosnic for the post of trade minister.

Mikelic proposed the assembly nominate three deputy prime ministers, while several vacated posts leave a possibility of including representatives of the Serbian Radical Party in the government.

Addressing the deputies, Mikelic said that "at a time between war and peace in which Krajina has found itself, the priority tasks are defense and the economic recovery of the country." He stressed that the most difficult phase was "behind us," which does not mean that there will be no more pressures on the RSK.

Speaking about Krajina's foreign policy, he said that a political solution for relations with Croatia could be found only through negotiations, and that at the end the people of Krajina would decide about their future in a referendum. They will no doubt decide to live together with other Serb countries, i.e., states, Mikelic stressed.

In connection with that, he stressed that the reintegration of Krajina into Croatia is only wishful thinking on Tudjman's part. Mikelic believes that a speedy international recognition and the division of assets between the RSK and Croatia mark the path toward the end of the state of war.

Mikelic spoke in favor of the Serb Army of Krajina becoming a professional army. When an effective defense system is established, many experts will be have more time to help relaunch production, which is currently employing only 36,000 workers. Before the war, 127,000 people worked in industry, agriculture, and other branches of economy. This figure best illustrates the current state of the economy. Therefore, speaking about the economic policy for this year, Mikelic specified steps that need to be taken, especially in agriculture.

He paid particular attention to the strengthening and the building of a law-governed state, the efficiency of the administrative and judicial bodies, and the creation of conditions for a market economy and entrepreneurship.

As regards pensioners, he will urge that one of the conditions for the resumption of the process of negotiations with Croatia be that Croatia should pay out pensions to those people who were contributing to the pension fund of the Republic of Croatia; these number 40,000. As the second condition for the resumption of the process of negotiations, he demanded the abolition of UN Security Council resolution 820.

Mikelic also urged the creation of conditions for the return of around 350,000 refugees from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and abroad.

Mikelic's economic program is based on close links with the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia. In this connection he said that the republic of Serb Krajina must harmonize its laws with Yugoslavia, so that the process of the overall economic, social, and spiritual integration should speed up.

The assembly is continuing the session by discussing the program and the government appointments.

RSK Assembly Endorses New Government Proposal

LD2104170994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Knin, 21 Apr (TANJUG)—At a session in Knin this afternoon, deputies of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] assembly elected a government of national unity proposed by Borislav Mikelic. Fifty deputies voted in favor of the government, 14 were against, and nine abstained. The election of the government was preceded by a brief discussion during which the deputies gave overall support to the program and composition of the government.

There will be no representatives of the Serbian Radical Party in Mikelic's cabinet, but Mikelic himself said that a reconstruction of the government could be expected very soon because of the construction of new ministries. Mikelic added that the first government session will be held tomorrow to put the new program into action.

RSK President Martic told TANJUG that the election of the new government greatly contributes to the stabilization of internal affairs in Krajina.

Martic, Mikelic Comment

AU2104201094 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Statements by Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, and Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, in Knin on 21 April—recorded]

[Text] [Martic] I am (?firmly) convinced that the government will be capable of rising to the task before it. It is composed of all parties—only the Radicals did not join owing to some reason of theirs, but I do not wish to elaborate—however, regardless of the parties in question, and judging by the individuals, I believe that the government is quite a good one and that the people and the parliament will very soon be able to assess the work of this government. Personally, I think that it [the government] will be a good one.

[Mikelic] I think that we are now a entering a phase in the peace process that has been signed, and that means that we need to make this connection selectively, from people who are going from their positions toward production [sentence as heard]. On the other hand, we must see which companies we will tackle first, in individual municipalities where they have a perspective; at the same time we need to stop certain declines, particularly in areas where state-owned property suffered significant damage [sentence as heard]. I am extremely glad that this program was given general support today. I am also glad that the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], and its president, Milan Babic, have managed to rise above the parliamentary coalition that used to exist in the assembly, and that he [Babic] has now truly placed the national interest of the Serbian people at the forefront. I am glad that he came alone to this post of foreign minister. The remaining ministers will surely be capable of shouldering the burden I mentioned earlier in my address.

New Government Dominated by SDS

LD2104200294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Knin, 21 Apr (TANJUG)—The Serb Democratic Party [SDS] of Krajina has won the largest number of portfolios in the republic of Serb Krajina government. This party has won seven ministerial posts, while its leader, Milan Babic, has been appointed foreign affairs minister.

The Serb Democratic Party of Serbian Lands has won two portfolios while the socialists and the social democrats have won one portfolio each.

Six ministries, including the Ministries of Defense, Internal Affairs, and Finance will be headed by nonparty personalities. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Accused of Plan To Merge With Bosnia

LD2104192794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1738 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Zagreb, Apr 21 (TANJUG)—Josip Manolic, president of the Croatian parliament upper house, has accused President Franjo Tudjman of a plan to merge with Croatia the southern part of the ex-Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This plan was the core of Tudjman's policy over the last two years, said Manolic, who has become leader of a new party—the Croatian Independent Democrats (HND), a breakaway faction of Tudjman's ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

Manolic, in an interview to the Zagreb GLOBUS weekly, accused Tudjman of having succumbed, in his expansionist policy, to the strong influence by Croat mps from southern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Manolic said "a division of Bosnia may lead to one of Croatia," but "history would never forgive" Tudjman any such "strategic mistake."

Manolic laid all blame on Tudjman for a one-year Croat-Moslem war in Bosnia-Herzegovina which ended under U.S. pressure last month when the warring sides agreed on a Croat-Moslem federation to be set up in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The new party, HND, would strengthen the opposition in breaking Tudjmans power monopoly as the "biggest obstacle" in the way of what he called the "functioning of democratic institutions" in Croatia.

Tudjman was responsible for the split in his party (HDZ), from which the HND originated, said Manolic, the ex-chief of the secret police, because, "with the HDZ as it is now, it is quite impossible" for Croatia to become "a genuinely democratic state."

Presidential Adviser on Departure of Manolic

94BA0245A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 94 pp 18-20

[Interview with presidential adviser Ivic Pasalic by Tihomir Dujmovic; place and date not given: "Manolic Convicted Himself"]

[Text] *The time has come for those who have adhered to firm communist positions, as well as those who have adhered to extreme right-wing positions, to give way to those who will build Croatia and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] on centrist positions. Accordingly, one can speak of a certain decommunization of Croatia in both the state administration and the ruling structure.*

Josip Manolic's departure from all duties in the ruling Croatian political party is certainly one of the biggest personnel changes in the Croatian state since its emergence. That is why we asked Ivic Pasalic, the republic president's adviser on domestic policy and a member of the HDZ Presidency, and the party's new "personnel officer," as some better informed journalists claim, for a more detailed interpretation of Manolic's departure.

[Dujmovic] Why did Josip Manolic have to leave? Are the newspaper analyses correct which are emphasizing three possible reasons for Manolic's departure these days: the open conflict with Gojko Susak, the revival of the old divisions between the winners and losers from 1945—which was mentioned in one of Manolic's controversial interviews—or a real and open conflict with the republic president?

[Pasalic] Josip Manolic did not have to leave. Everything that has happened is his choice, and the motives are primarily known to him personally. The decision on removing Mr. Manolic from his party duties clearly cites the reasons, namely disagreement with the HDZ's policy. In the last few months, on several occasions he has publicly, as a party official, expressed positions contrary to the established party policy and to the decisions of central party policy. Since Mr. Manolic even said very clearly at the last meeting of the HDZ Presidency that he was not retreating from his political positions, and he did not accept a compromise offer from President Tudjman (that he would remain an HDZ deputy in the Chamber of Parishes, but not its president), the decision that was adopted by the party leadership is completely logical and based on the HDZ Statute. I am mentioning this because this does not have anything to do with any sort of personal conflicts, or conflicts between the "left" and "right," but rather an attempt to impose a parallel policy contrary to the one conducted by the president and the HDZ Presidency.

[Dujmovic] What is the difference between the political positions of Mr. Manolic and the HDZ Presidency? Manolic is stubbornly emphasizing that he advocates a law-governed state, an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina....

[Pasalic] Those are mere political phrases. Every policy occurs in a specific time and area, and is governed by domestic and international circumstances. When someone says now that he advocated an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina, then the following question arises: Who did not advocate an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina? The HDZ's fundamental goal, very clearly expressed in the first multiparty elections, was the establishment of an independent and sovereign Croatian state. At the same time, our policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina was conducted by ensuring the strategic interests of the Croatian state, and by ensuring for the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina the rights of an equal constituent people within the internal order of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a complex state, without calling into question Bosnia-Herzegovina's territorial integrity. The situation, however, was such that it was questionable how that policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina could be carried out, especially since the solution to that problem did not depend and still does not depend solely on Croatian political positions and interests. Therefore, there simply had to be a back-up possibility in circumstances in which the Muslims wanted to create their own state, in which the Serbs did so, and in the event that the international community adopted different solutions. Croatia was simply in a situation in which it also had to be prepared for that possibility. In spite of all that, in all the international plans that were offered Croatia did not aim for a single moment at the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We accepted Cutilheiro's plan, the Vance-Owen plan, and the plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of republics, but we did not want to accept in any way the establishment of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a civil (Muslim) state. Consequently, when Mr. Manolic wants to show today that the policy of an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina is "his" policy, contrary to any other policy, then it is obviously just throwing dust in people's eyes.

[Dujmovic] When it is said that Manolic was in conflict with the established state policy, what, specifically, does that mean?

[Pasalic] Consequently, if we are talking about Bosnia-Herzegovina, then the conflict is evident in the fact that Mr. Manolic, in all his statements in the last few months, has said that Croatian policy turned around after Washington, and "that that policy first had to run up against a wall" and only then could be changed. You see, that is quite incorrect; it is petty politics, and in the end, it is directly contrary to the policy that we really did conduct toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. We conducted a principled but realistic policy in the given framework. Consequently, that assessment of Manolic's is simply not true. Furthermore, at the Presidency meeting, Josip Manolic took Mr. Susak solely as a symbol of that mistaken policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Consequently, if Mr. Susak is only a symbol of a mistaken policy, that means that the president of the Republic is conducting a mistaken policy! Accordingly, he spoke out directly against the policy that President Tudjman is conducting! All of the statements made by Manolic in support of this were incorrect, and this was simply a case of manipulating the facts. Next, Mr. Manolic was also stating that he advocated a law-governed state. Putting the matter that way indicates that the Croatian state leadership presumably does not advocate a law-governed state, and that the Croatian authorities are opposing it!? In one interview, Manolic said that the perpetrators of crimes are not prosecuted in Croatia, and that the state has a tolerant attitude toward violence, smuggling, drugs, and planting explosives, which is untrue, which can be verified, after all, by comparing the data of the Interior Ministry, the State Attorney's Office, and the courts.

Furthermore, Mr. Manolic was the prime minister, he was chief of the Office for Protection of the Constitutional Order, from the beginning of the party's establishment he was the vice president of the HDZ, and if we are talking about a law-governed state, it is precisely Mr. Manolic who was in the most sensitive positions, where a law-governed state had to be realized. Accordingly, even if what Mr. Manolic is saying is true, then that also indicates his own irresponsibility, since for three years he was in jobs that regulated those issues. In one interview, I think directly before leaving the position of head of the Office for Protection of the Constitutional Order, he stated that he was not satisfied with the military and civilian police! But that was his job then! The third thing that Mr. Manolic is talking about is his disagreement with how the party was being led. You see, the HDZ's supreme party body is the party congress. At the last congress the HDZ's statute and program were adopted, and arguments and different political solutions and different personnel solutions could be confronted and clarified at that congress. At that congress President Tudjman openly invited Mr. Manolic, as the alleged head of the so-called left wing in the party, and Mr. Seks, as the alleged head of the so-called right wing in the party, to campaign openly as candidates opposing President Tudjman, if they did not agree with the declared policy. Accordingly, if Mr. Manolic thought that that policy was not the policy that was backed by the membership at large, then he could have verified that by presenting himself as a rival candidate. He did not, however. The congress occurred partly because an atmosphere of dissension had started to be created within the party, and when a program is adopted at the congress, then the only thing left is to carry it out, or else to leave the party.

[Dujmovic] Manolic is mostly criticizing the conduct of the policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. Talking about the Washington agreement, he is expressing fear that people will start to obstruct it. After all, the opposition is also emphasizing that the same people cannot support a Bosnia-Herzegovina union and a cantonal Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that personnel replacements are logical.

[Pasalic] Those are all political insinuations. The Washington agreement was signed by President Tudjman on behalf of Croatia, and by Kresimir Zubak on behalf of the leadership of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What are the arguments that would indicate anyone's opposing implementation of that agreement? Accordingly, this assessment of his once again suffers from a lack of arguments, but unfortunately, in some political circles it will be interpreted as a statement by someone who was at the very top of the Croatian government. Even though that assessment is completely wrong, it can inflict both damage and problems on Croatian interests. With respect to Herceg-Bosna, for the most part the same people there have been conducting policy since 1990, and as the political situation changed, because both the Serbs, the Muslims, and the international community changed their positions, they also had to adapt to that. The whole problem is that he is stubbornly insinuating that there has now been some sort of reversal in policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, and from that fundamental distorted viewpoint he is deriving conclusions that necessarily have to be wrong.

[Dujmovic] Is is true that at the HDZ Presidency meeting the departure of Mesic, Greguric, and Valentic was mentioned?

[Pasalic] That is completely untrue; there was not a word about it. Of course, all the Presidency members, in their statements, supported the established party policy and appealed to Mr. Manolic to take a reasonable step.

[Dujmovic] How do you view the assessment that this is the beginning of a schism in the HDZ?

[Pasalic] Those are the wishes of certain people who want to strengthen their own political position in that way, but unfortunately for them, and fortunately for the HDZ and Croatia, none of the preconditions for that to happen exist. It is worth noting, however, that different political and interest groups have attempted and are attempting to bring about a schism within the HDZ. Their goal is to bring about a split within the parliamentary majority in order to achieve a different balance of power and a different parliamentary majority in the Assembly. Then they would probably either aim at early elections or at changing the constitutional position of the president of the Republic. Certain opposition parties have held this political platform, and even made plans to cause such a situation. The immediate occasion for carrying out those plans was supposed to be a universal staged uproar, even within the HDZ, over the failed policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. Those who are more intelligent and politically experienced enough gave up those ideas, because of the obvious successes of Croatian state policy, but some people are obviously on a path of no return and are still acting in accordance with the planned scenario. The HDZ came out of the second general congress stronger, the membership fully accepted the program, and the parliamentary majority is completely stable. The proof is the voting in the deputies' club in the Chamber of Parishes, where 36 deputies were in favor of replacing Mr. Manolic as president of the Chamber of Parishes, and only three were opposed. Of those three, two deputies clearly stated that they would respect the party decision and vote for replacement at the meeting of the Chamber of Parishes. Certainly the HDZ majority in the Chamber of Deputies is absolutely stable, and thus those estimates that about 30 HDZ deputies would go over to certain other political options turned out to be completely wrong. Accordingly, there is no schism in the HDZ, there is no parliamentary crisis, and there will be no early elections.

[Dujmovic] That would mean that the newspaper ideas about the possible counterbalancing departure of Minister Susak are unfounded?

[Pasalic] The defense minister enjoys the confidence of the republic president, and thus I do not see any arguments in favor of those ideas.

[Dujmovic] I would like to go back to the functioning of a law-governed state. The fact is that every day we can follow some sort of financial scandal in the press. In spite of what is occasionally quite solid proof of financial embezzlement, I have not yet heard of anyone being held accountable. If everyone in the leadership really is equally supportive of a law-governed state, how is that phenomenon possible?

[Pasalic] I would like to see any solid proof of embezzlement that has not been followed by sanctions. Specifically, we have insinuations and slanders among our political public before those issues come to trial, and even before an investigation is conducted. I maintain that the law-governed state is functioning, while one has to take into account the conditions in which we are living and the situation that we inherited.

[Dujmovic] So there is no financial embezzlement in Croatia?

[Pasalic] I did not say that. After all, there is no country in the world where those things do not happen.

[Dujmovic] For several days now, the slightly improbably news has been spreading in Croatian political circles that there is a certain list of internationally objectionable Croatian politicians, a list that was compiled at the Vatican. Is there any truth to that?

[Pasalic] No, I am hearing that for the first time. It is well-known what His Holiness the Pope has said on several occasions and it is known that he sent a thank-you letter to President Tudjman. Possibly someone might draw certain conclusions from that, because it says that it is difficult for the new democratic states to establish themselves on the ruins of atheistic socialism. Perhaps this part sends certain hidden messages to some people, and they can draw certain conclusions from it, but there are no lists that came from the Vatican with the names of objectionable Croatian politicians. But, you see, we really have created a state on the ruins of atheistic socialism. The idea of the reconciliation of all Croats, however, has been woven into the foundations of the creation of Croatia, and that must not be forgotten. At the same time, those who have adhered to firm communist positions, as well as those who have adhered to extreme right-wing positions, have to be told that the time has come when those who have not accepted the HDZ's centrist policy have to give way to those who will build Croatia and the HDZ on centrist positions. Accordingly, one can also speak of a certain decommunization of Croatia in both the state administration and the government structure.

[Dujmovic] It is also said that Manolic's departure is the outcome of a conflict between the Drava basin and Herzegovina lobbies.

[Pasalic] Those are political terms by which people have tried to depict the situation within the party for a long time. That is said because those whose positions have not been accepted choose stories about lobbies in order to obscure the essence of the problem.

[Dujmovic] Does Ivic Pasalic belong to the Herzegovina lobby?

[Pasalic] No, Ivic Pasalic does not belong to any lobby.

[Dujmovic] How much truth is there in the rumors that Mr. Mesic could also leave his position, in view of the similarity between his views and Manolic's?

[Pasalic] I would not like to be a prophet, but I personally think that it will not happen. Specifically, my opinion is that there will not be any sort of chain reactions, as people want to insinuate now, and instead I think that we will all learn certain political lessons from these circumstances.

[Dujmovic] Taking into account the way in which negotiations are being conducted with representatives of the Serbs in the UNPA's [UN Protected Areas], as well as Churkin's idea of a "state within a state," doesn't it seem to you that a back-door attempt is being made to impose the federalization of the state upon Croatia? Specifically, even the U.S. representative is talking about the UNPAs as an area with "significant" autonomy.

[Pasalic] With respect to the Croatian areas under UN protection, there are certainly different desires: from Greater Serbia to the confederalization of Croatia. The Croatian position is quite clear, however: Any sort of federalization or confederalization of Croatia is out of the question. It is the territory of the Republic of Croatia, and we will do everything possible to return those parts to Croatia's constitutional and legal order through political negotiations.

[Dujmovic] On several occasions, Mr. Galbraith has diplomatically and cautiously mentioned his own impressions that the Serbs are particularly bothered that they have been "left out of the constitution." In the context of these negotiations with the Serbs, is it possible that the Croatian constitution may be changed along those lines?

[Pasalic] No, that is out of the question, because the Serbs cannot be a constituent people in Croatia.

HSLS Assembly for Split-Dalmatia Zupanija

94BA0235B Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 94 p 12

[Article by S. Gazde: "Inaugural Congress of HSLS (Croatian Social-Liberal Party) for Split-Dalmatia Zupanija: A Year of Peace for Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia!"]

[Text] *The chairman of the Croatian liberals, Drazen Budisa, emphasized at the congress that there is certainly no Croatian political party that will not wholeheartedly support the recently signed document on a Croatian-Bosnian federation; 1994 is a year of peace for both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, because there is real hope that the temporarily occupied Croatian territory will be reintegrated into the Republic of Croatia [RH].*

"There is certainly no Croatian political party that will not wholeheartedly support the recently signed document on a Croatian-Bosnian federation," the chairman of the Croatian liberals, Drazen Budisa, said at the inaugural congress of the HSLS [Croatian Social-Liberal Party] for Split-Dalmatia Zupanija on Saturday, adding that he believes that the HSLS assembly scheduled for May will be held under conditions of peace. According to Budisa, 1994 is a year of peace for both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, because there is real hope that the temporarily occupied Croatian territory will be reintegrated into the Republic of Croatia.

Drazen Budisa sees the reality of these hopes in the efforts by the great powers to solve the territorial problem of the former Yugoslavia through political means; paraphrasing U.S. President Clinton concerning "building destroyed bridges, but also bridges between people," Budisa noted that there should be support for the expressed flexibility of the Croatian political leadership which, Budisa reminded, recently adopted in the Croatian Assembly a declaration on foreign policy with a different approach. Thus, there can also be no talk of "continuity in policy," because the viability of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state was questioned. Emphasizing his conviction that the Bosnian-Croatian federation will be joined by Bosnian Serbs as well, Budisa added that it is necessary to wait before building a confederation between the RH and the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation, because even without a confederal framework, good political, economic, and other relations can be developed. In Budisa's opinion, what has happened is not a new Yalta in this region; indeed, international players, especially the United States and Russia, are trying to stop the war, and he noted that it is realistic to expect pressure from Moscow on the Bosnian Serbs to join the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation.

"Responsibility for the fighting between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina is shared by Croatia, because we in the HSLS have long said that this senseless and unnecessary fighting should be avoided. Thus, in order to introduce the principle of responsibility for wrong assessments and policies to Croatian political life, I believe that the question of political responsibility for this fighting as well must be placed on the agenda," Drazen Budisa asserted, suggesting that the liberals include the signing of the Geneva document on normalizing relations with Serbia as one of the wrong moves. Explaining that the HSLS considers that move premature, the leader of the Croatian liberals asserted that they are in favor of the best possible relations with neighbors, but only after the Serbo-Montenegrin federation recognizes Croatia's internationally recognized borders.

As far as the liberals' organizational structure is concerned, Budisa announced that branches of the HSLS will be founded in Croat cantons of the future federation as well, because during the war such a move, he says, would have contributed to the chaos. In Croatia, the liberals are already organized by zupanija, and Budisa noted that there will be no radical changes in the party. Candidacies will be announced by the end of April, and besides his own candidacy for president, each member of the HSLS has the right to run for office. Complementing his party colleagues "for being in the good company of honorable and capable people," Budisa said that "attempts to destroy the party from within will not succeed."

At the same time, the inaugural congress of the liberals of Split-Dalmatia Zupanija did not get a leader of its own. The votes of those in attendance were evenly divided between Ante Beljan (Trogir) and Niksa Viskovic (Makarska), so that until new elections are held the duties of chairman of the HSLS Zupanija Committee will be performed by vice chairman Ante Skeljo, who received the largest number of votes of support. Also elected as vice presidents were Edo Boban, Josko Dujmov, and Roko Vuletic, while the secretary is Petar Krolo and the treasurer is Marija Stambuk.

The gathering of the zupanija's liberals was also greeted by Split Mayor Nikola Grabic, who acquainted the attendees with the difficulties the city faces in articulating its policy, since all that remains of the proclaimed local self-rule is a few words on paper. He also emphasized that he expects support from the zupanija level because, he said, he hopes that this dimension of political support will be a critical factor in the upcoming elections.

The HSLS zupanija congress was also attended by representatives of the HSS [Croatian Peasant Party], the HNS [Croatian People's Party], and the SDP [Party of Democratic Changes], who also greeted their colleagues, whereby Josko Kovac (HSS) noted that there are 53 registered parties in Croatia, but only three of them came to greet the liberals. Endorsing cooperation with the liberals, with whom an coalition election victory was won in Split, Miro Granic (HNS) asserted that this success would be repeated on the zupanija level as well. Also participating in the HSLS congress were Goran Granic, Damir Zoric, Tereza Ganza-Aras, and HSLS Assembly deputies.

Leader of Social Democratic Party Interviewed

94BA0235C Osijek GLAS SLAVONIJE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 94 p 5

[Interview with Antun Vujic, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, by Sinisa Kraml in Osijek; date not given: "Yugoslav Orthodoxy Can Be No Part of Us"]

[Text] *If the aspiration for greater social justice and broader democracy means that you are a communard, then that is what I am, but so is the vast majority of people. On the one hand, communards are persistently anathematized, while on the other hand factories are being stolen, whereby the former serves to ensure that no one objects to the latter.*

The recently announced unification of the Social Democratic Party [Stranka] of Croatia [SDSH or SDH] and the Social Democratic Party [Partija] of Croatia [SDPH; formerly SDP, Party of Democratic Changes] has been a frequent subject of newspaper articles and commentaries in recent days. Regardless of the connotations of the more or less well-intentioned articles, it is a fact that the unification of the local right, and then of the left as well, means that the Croatian political scene is experiencing the beginnings of a process of fermentation and crystallization of the numerous representatives of the political will of the nation into a few basic parties that are recognizable in civic democracies.

We discussed the unification of the SDH and SDP with Antun Vujic, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, during his recent visit to Osijek.

[Kraml] What does the unification with Racan's party mean for the SDH and for you personally?

[Vujic] The unification of the SDH and SDP is a constructive act which should finally give Croatia a democratic left and a democratic right. There is no center. For example, the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] is not the center, but rather a way of organizing power. In addition, the unification has made a reality out our expectations, meaning that the former League of Communists of Croatia has been social-democratized and the preconditions for much broader activity have been created, whereby the SDSH contributes an additional, authentic, social democratic image, while the SDPH contributes the best features that "settled out" from the last multiparty elections.

[Kraml] What are the essential and organizational points of reference under which the partially united Croatian left will act, and who all can become a member of it?

[Vujic] Our essential task is to represent labor and workers, because we are in fact all united on the question of the state.

If the aspiration for greater social justice and broader democracy means that you are a communard, then that is what I am, but so is the vast majority of people. On the one hand, communards are persistently anathematized, while on the other hand factories are being stolen, whereby the former serves to ensure that no one objects to the latter.

Our doors are open to everyone, except those who have not yet cleared up the issue of an independent Croatia and who think that social democracy is some other form of ideological labeling. To be more precise, there is no room in the unified left for Horvat's SDU [Social Democratic Union] and Suvar until they fully separate social democracy from Yugoslav orthodoxy and old-style communism.

[Kraml] What does the recent announcement of a confederation with Bosnia-Herzegovina mean for the SDH?

[Vujic] The problem is not the confederation, but rather the question of why we have not fought for that, together with the Muslims, over the past two years. Naturally, part of the blame rests with the Muslim side, but also with many people on our side. We are now getting a trimmed-back version of what we should have gotten together as a whole.

Someone is to blame for one of the most tragic political mistakes in Croatian history. It is the people to whom destroying bridges is more important than moving forward across them, together. Everyone should have known that Bosnia-Herzegovina is older than the idea of its partition.

[Kraml] What does a unified Croatian left offer Croatia?

[Vujic] It offers the notion that everything will be different, i.e., normal. That workers will have workers' rights, businessmen businessmen's rights, that science will be autonomous, that people will not be evicted from their apartments, that farmers will finally get the land that belongs to them, not to Hapsburgs and to people who fled Croatia, only for their patriotism to awaken at a moment when they thought that they could acquire something quickly. The left can also resolve all national issues on a higher-quality basis so that the Croatian state remains whole and internationally recognized.

[Kraml] What human resources is the Croatian left counting on in the future in executing its program goals?

[Vujic] Once the left finally gets going, it will be joined by half of the HDZ members and half of the HSP [Croatian Rights Party] members, because they too are Croatian workers—in larger numbers than all those who are currently regarded as majority Croats.

Company Stocks Offered for Public Debt Claims

94BA0232C Osijek GLAS SLAVONIJE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 94 p 12

[Article by Dj. Ognjenovic: "From Slavonia Bank-Djakovo Branch: Stock Shares From Old Foreign Exchange Savings"]

[Text] Djakovo—In accordance with the decision by the government of the Republic of Croatia under which stock in 44 companies is offered from the portfolio of the Croatian Fund for Privatization [HFP] to people who have claims against the public debt of the Republic of Croatia—i.e., old foreign exchange savings—Slavonia Bank-Djakovo Branch has begun collecting bids from interested clients.

The bank will carry out for depositors all transactions associated with this major campaign, which began on 28 February and will last 90 days, according to directions from the HFP.

The first auction, at which authorized brokers will buy stock on behalf of buyers, is scheduled for 28 March.

Depositors who decide to use old foreign exchange savings to become stockholders in one of the proposed companies can get all the information they need at the Djakovo Branch, Ulica Hrvatskih Velikana 4. They will be provided with an explanation of all details connected with the transaction and the relationship with the HFP, and if they decide to be represented on the Zagreb Stock Exchange by one of the bank's authorized brokers, the Djakovo Branch will give them the opportunity to talk with brokers in order to get a more complete picture.

The Slavonia Bank brokers will not charge a fee to their depositors, they will represent them at the public auction, and they are contractually bound to protect their interests, to act with reasonable care and diligence, and to apply the highest standards of the profession.

The offered stock can also be acquired by those who do not have old foreign exchange savings, i.e., by all legal and physical persons who want to buy shares. They too can turn to the bank, which in that case will be an intermediary between them and the depositors who want to sell their old foreign exchange savings.

The procedure is very simple. The seller of the old foreign exchange savings submits his offer to the bank with an indication of the amount that he wishes to sell and the discount (concession) that he is offering. The buyer submits his offer of the amount of old foreign exchange savings that he wishes to buy, with the discount that he is willing to accept.

From the offered terms of buying and selling, the bank chooses the most favorable for both the buyer and the seller. In these deals, the bank again acts as an intermediary offering full service.

Those who are a little more daring will recognize the opportunity of investing their own money and the inception of real stock exchange dealing—something that was inaccessible until only recently, and in which this time Slavonia Bank, in addition to its depositors, is involved.

Russian Diplomat Criticizes U.S. Troop Presence

AU2104160694 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 21 Apr 94 p 7

[Commentary by G. Mihajlovski: "Orthodox Messages to the Americans"]

[Text] What was Yuriy Trushin, a representative of the Russian Federation in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], doing at the news conference of the Democratic Christian Party? If his intention was to impose himself on the Macedonian public opinion or send an indirect message to the Americans, whose additional troops have just landed at Skopje airport, then why did he not do it at the news conference of a larger minor party and in the presence of politicians more-or-less heard of by the people? Particularly because, only a day before, the same Russian diplomat held a news conference with yet unclear motives in the Russian offices in Skopje.

Trushin was diplomatically silent, while his host, the president of the party, Vasil Ristevski, was explicit: "The arrival of the U.S. soldiers in Macedonia means acceptance of the position of a protectorate!" He also said that Trushin would speak to the Macedonian authority about including Russian soldiers in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] troops in Macedonia.

The journalists got no further information at this news conference except for the profitable knowledge about Macedonia as a protectorate and the Russian soldiers who are going to save our Orthodox religion. Trushin did not say much about Russian-Macedonian relations, because "there were more questions than answers." He does not know when the Russian Embassy will be opened in Skopje, because it was a "technical question." Trushin also does not know if Macedonia is threatened by Serbia "because he has been here for only three months, and accurate facts are needed for that." It is true that he told us that it was necessary to have a border between us and Yugoslavia as with all the other neighbors, because Russia recognized us as a sovereign state and it also advised us to make an agreement with Serbia, because the border is "still administrative, that is of a conditioned character."

In order to do it all in the frameworks of the religious name of the party, there were also discussions about the relations between the Russian and the Macedonian Orthodox Church. It was all "in the name of spiritual unification of the Orthodox world."

The Russian diplomat confused us on Tuesday when he called us to a news conference where he spoke about Bosnia. Yesterday, he confused us because he was the one to determine the agenda of a news conference of a Macedonian party. If Mr. Trushin thinks that his appearance yesterday is not a kind of interference in the internal political life of Macedonia and if he announced that "all groups and parties that wish to cooperate with us can call us to a news conference," it means that in a few days we can see the Russian diplomat [whose embassy had to be opened at the beginning of March, as Vitaliy Churkin announced during his unexpected visit to Macedonia] at a news conference held by Dragisa Miletic from the Democratic Party of the Serbs, or with a new communist movement collecting signatures against the Americans. Like Vasil Ristevski, they also think that the Americans will make a protectorate out of us, and they want the Russians on the border with Serbia!

Here is another question for consideration: How will the Macedonian state react if tomorrow, for instance, the diplomatic representative of Albania holds a news conference within the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] or the party of Taci [PDP faction]?

Data on Employment by Nationality Reported

94P20622A

[Editorial Report] An article entitled "Does the Private Sector Have an Appeal for Albanians?", published on page 6 of the Skopje Albanian-language paper FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT on 2 March 1994, reports that 529,827 persons are currently employed in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM, and that 170,000 are looking for jobs. An additional 3,800 workers will soon be unemployed as a result of the Stabilization Program, the article notes. According to data on nationalities from the Republic Office of Statistics, 80.6 of the employed are listed as Macedonian, 10.4 percent as Albanian, 2.3 percent as Turkish, 1.6 percent as Gypsy, and 2.3 percent as other nationalities.

According to the data mentioned in the article, some 87.6 percent of the workers are employed in the public sector and 12.4 percent in the private sector. The public sector employs 92.4 percent of the Macedonians, 58.6 percent of the Albanians, 66.8 percent of the Turks, and 62.3 percent of the Vlachs. The private sector employs 7.6 percent of the Macedonians, 41.4 percent of the Albanians, 33.2 percent of the Turks, and 47.4 percent of the Vlachs.

The ratio of Macedonians to Albanians employed in the public sector is 85 percent to 7 percent, while it is 49.3 percent to 34.8 percent in the private sector, the item reports.

As for professional education, the paper states, 75.4 percent of the persons employed have at least a middle school education, while 24.9 percent have no professional education. The ratio for Macedonians is 68.8 percent to 31.2 percent; for Albanians, it is 48.1 percent to 51.9 percent; for Turks, it is 44.2 percent to 55.8 percent; for Gypsies, it is 29.7 percent to 70.3 percent. Some 30.7 percent of the Macedonians seeking jobs do not have the appropriate training, the article points out. The figures are 61.5 percent for Albanians and 97.6 percent for Gypsies.

ΩCampaign for More Albanians in Police Jobs

94P20607A

[Editorial Report] The following items on the employment of Albanians in internal security units in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM, were published in recent issues of Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT, the most widely circulated Albanian-language newspaper in FYROM.

Competition for Police Openings Announced by Ministry

In a notice aimed at ethnic Albanians who are FYROM citizens, the Interior Ministry announced openings for 150 police officers (both male and female) in Skopje, Kumanovo, Tetovo, Gostivar, Ohrid, Struga, Kercovo, Debar, and Resnje. The applicants must be under 25 years of age and physically fit, and must not have any criminal record. They also must have completed their military service. The notice makes no mention of nationality. According to the notice, successful candidates are to be assigned to internal security units in the regions mentioned, regardless of their place of residence. The competition was scheduled to end eight days after the announcement was published. (FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT, 6 March 94)

PDP Spearheads Drive To Get Albanians Into Police Jobs

An appeal by the ethnic Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity, PDP, urges "all candidates interested in employment in the Interior Ministry" who have recently filed documents at the "Headquarters" branch of the PDP in Skopje to retrieve these documents, complete them in accordance with the competition's requirements, and present them at the regional units of the Interior Ministry—the police stations. (FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT, 11 March 94)

Albanians Object to Treatment by Kercovo Internal Affairs Units

At the request of PDP council members, a meeting was held with representatives of the Directorate for General Juridical Operations and the Sector for Internal Affairs in Kercovo to discuss the mistreatment Albanians have encountered when they request legal documents, according to an article. The PDP representatives demanded the employment of more Albanians in these organizations. "Albanians in the northern part of Kercovo are not at all satisfied with the service of the Macedonian employees in the internal affairs offices of the country. Citizens must wait for days to get ordinary documents or certificates, while Macedonians are able to get them with just a telephone call," the PDP representatives are cited as saying. Because of such delays, the representatives asked that the offices in Osllome (Oslomej) and Zajas be staffed by Albanians, as more than 9O percent of the residents of these areas are of Albanian nationality. Even though the new passports are written in the Latin alphabet, some letters are replaced by Cyrillic letters, causing some ethnic Albanians employed outside the country to demand new passports, the article notes. It goes on to point out that the representatives of the Directorate General and of the Sector for Internal Affairs declared that the appropriate ministries would be informed of these controversies, but they also asked that citizens not request documents that are not needed, pointing out, for example, that new identification cards are not required because the existing ones will be valid until the law is approved. There was also a discussion of the need to train Albanian youths for the police force, the article concludes. (FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT, 25 February 94)

Struga Interior Ministry Unit Urged To Hire More Albanians

A group of PDP council members met with Stefan Perdulloski, head of the regional unit of the Interior Ministry in Struga, to urge that the procedure for registering the population be accelerated and facilitated, another article reports. They also called for the proportional employment of Albanians in the Interior Ministry unit in Struga, for the acceptance of Albanians into the police force in proportion to their percentage of the population, and for more Albanian students to be admitted to the Interior Ministry secondary school, the report notes. In addition, PDP representatives presented a demand for the employment of Albanians in offices in places such as Veleshte, Ladorisht, Drasllajce, and Struga to Faruk Qazimoski, chief of the Officers Service. (FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT, 6 March 94)

President Kucan Views Political Situation

AU2204094594 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1401 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Speech by President Milan Kucan in the State Chamber in Ljubljana—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, honored ladies and gentlemen deputies, honored house: Your conclusion to invite me and thus allow me to explain my statements about possible scenarios of political events in Slovenia, of which I have allegedly spoken in public, demands a little explanation first. Nowhere have I ever spoken of any scenarios of political events in Slovenia and for this reason such an explanation is not possible. In light of the debate at the 28 March extraordinary session of the State Chamber, I presume that these were my statements made at the deputies' evening in Nova Gorica, which was on 23 February. Your conclusion, that is to say, demand allows me to use my constitutional right and duty to tell this high house, and through it the wider public, how I view the situation in Slovenia, that is to say, how I viewed it in Nova Gorica. I decided to appear in person because I feel firmly bound by my constitutional responsibility and the moral obligations that I have as a president of the state to draw attention to the issues concerning the observation of constitutionality and legality, the protection of human rights, and internal political stability and security of the state. I believe it is not sufficient for me to send my opinions, warnings, initiatives, and proposals only to the incumbent ministers, the government, and the State Chamber, but find it necessary and warranted to address the public, too, and warn it about the tendencies and the occurrences that are, in my opinion, deeply harmful for the interests of the citizens of our state, its stability and future, and its position and reputation in the world. I have no direct authority to resolve these issues. However, with a public word I wish to assist in a creative release of social tensions attached to the fundamental questions of the state and in the resolution of the existential problems of the Slovene citizens, especially the problems of their social and legal security. [passage omitted]

Even though I have explained the contents, the meaning, and the aims of this appearance [in Nova Gorica] in the media on several occasions I shall do this once again in front of the State Chamber. However, I do not understand why my appearance in Nova Gorica was not presented adequately in the media, if it really gave rise to so many doubts, questions, and also manipulations and misinterpretations. It is interesting to note that even those who concerned themselves the most with this message have failed to do so. Had this been the case, the Slovene citizens would have learned, as is their right, what the president of the republic actually said. They would form their own judgment about what was said, without middlemen and interpreters, especially those who can merely think in terms of dark scenarios and major conspiracies. This is a matter of conscience and responsibility of those people who are building their political work on deliberate falsification and disrespect for authenticity. If anyone recognizes his own pattern of thinking and behavior in my critical warning that a highly disturbing belief that objectives justify the means is gaining prominence in our political practice, then this is a matter of his conscience and also a matter of his responsibility for the damage done to society. This is a responsibility for deliberate falsification and violation of the authenticity of the spoken word, or to say it directly, some people have obviously taken lies for proofs.

My assessments and warnings put forward in Nova Gorica referring to cases of unlawful behavior and social anomalies and tendencies in political life were not the first of their kind. I have spoken similarly on several occasions before. However, because of the thoroughness and credibility of the information which was published publicly there were no manipulations, fabrications, and speculations with my words then. My speeches in the papers are accessible to anyone. In none of these speeches or writings is there any basis for the claims that I was announcing any sort of scenarios of events and liquidations and favored the use of all means to defeat a political opponent. Such interpretation of my words means perversion and deliberate imputation of what I have explicitly rejected. Quite the opposite is the truth. I demand that the politicians act as a cohesive factor, seek consensus of as many as possible segments of the society, and create the conditions for a peaceful and creative life of the people. I am opposed to politicians currently deepening the existing divisions or causing new divisions among the people. I am convinced that this is disastrous for the survival and the future of the Slovene nation.

Esteemed deputies! I have handed you an exact transcript of what I said in Nova Gorica. From it you will easily conclude that the message of my speech consisted of three essential parts. In the first part I, as the president of the state, again explained my political project. I strive for parallel coexistence of various beliefs, pluralism, and reconciliation. I understand reconciliation as an inevitable coexistence of various convictions about the truth, as a resistance against the repression of only one truth in the name of which it would be allowed to attack all other truths and liquidate their champions. Here I am also referring to the tragic experiences from World War II and the period directly after it.

In the second part I expressed my regret because the Slovene political scene has became so pronouncedly divided while confrontation and uncooperativeness have become the basic principles of the life on it. Unfortunately, in my opinion, the principle that he who is not with us is against us is winning a right of domicile on this scene. This logic transforms an opponent into an enemy and permits all means to defeat the enemy, even those that are absolutely contrary to the fundamental principles of democracy, therefore, disqualifications and liquidations, if necessary even physical. This is the merciless logic of this principle and it should be borne in mind. I, therefore, spoke of a political method that is striving to assert itself in Slovenia. I opposed it, and I warned where this method could lead. [passage omitted]

I would like to stress particularly that for almost a year I have been warning about the damaging processes that have cut deeply into the working environments, communities, and even families and have already had their fateful effect on the nation as a whole, dividing it. I believe that you can see this for yourselves. This is no longer about identification with one political leader and rejection of other political leaders, this is about undermining of credibility and trust in the legitimate institutions of the system, including the parliament, the government, and the legislation. Therefore, I did not announce any individual events but merely warned about the political circumstances that could lead toward incidents and political instability.

The State Chamber does not ask me directly about my alleged involvement in the Smolnikar affair. However, this question has been raised in public constantly by forces who would, in my opinion, like to shed their responsibility for it. With full responsibility I assure you that I am not connected with this affair nor are the people from my cabinet. This also applies to all other unlawful actions. For this reason I am furthermore interested in an expert and quick investigation. It would be most unusual if the fact that this constituted the biggest violation of human rights would finally become completely irrelevant.

In the third part I advocated that the standards of expertise and excellence should apply to professional performance of duties connected with the running of the state. In place of efforts to give prominence to a positive, that is to say, expert selection of cadres in the life of our state, we are constantly witnessing the attempts of self-praise and self-justification with the references to the so-called old structures, conspiracies, powerful secret organizations, icebergs, and so forth. It is primarily those who are incapable of forming a positive program of social changes themselves that talk about this, even though such positive changes are badly needed and the citizens demand them with full justification. [passage omitted]

Esteemed deputies! From the media and the events in Slovene society you and I could both learn about and ponder over the events of which I spoke in Nova Gorica, which testify of the violation of the principles of a law-governed and a democratic state. I spoke of a group calling itself the Civilian Initiative and its anonymous circulars, of constant threats with dossiers, of old and new mafias, and of illegal groups that function as para-intelligence services, illegally gathering information and tailing state and political officials, journalists, and public persons. Let me remind you that I warned last summer that our state was not sufficiently protected in the area of counterintelligence and that it would be sensible to form the National Security Council within the government, which would steer, coordinate, and supervise the work of our intelligence services in the parliament. The prime minister's political collegium also partially concluded so when it decided in March that as a matter of rule the prime minister will establish the necessary coordination between the departments, that is to say, services through the political collegium. I remain firmly convinced that we must immediately set up all legal and institutional bases and frameworks that would facilitate effective functioning of the supervisory mechanisms over the repressive apparatus of the state as a whole. It must be shielded from the temptation to accomplish goals and tasks with prohibited means. We must prevent that individuals or groups would misuse it for political purposes or even to morally disqualify political adversaries and different-minded people in general. [passage omitted]

I expect that the sensitivity of the public and the state offices toward any sort of arbitrary violation of human rights will increase. Namely, if we do not resist immediately any cases of unlawful bugging and surveillance of the post today, this will happen to somebody else tomorrow, and to all of us the day after. You know what Murphy's law says: If you are a paranoiac it does not necessary mean that you are not being followed. There will always be plenty of the so-called higher interests with which to justify such behavior. For this reason I believe that the prime minister's resoluteness in not tolerating any unlawful activities regardless of their perpetrators deserves the full support of the parliament and the public. I expect that everybody will act in this way.

Esteemed deputies! The State Chamber holds a report by the Slovene Government about the problems in cooperation between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Defense Ministry, and the conclusions of the March political collegium with the prime minister. I did not have this information until the end of last week when I again explicitly requested it. I have based my assessments on official verbal explanations of the incumbent officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and their findings in the investigation about the Civilian Initiative, which I had proposed myself. I also based my assessments on other publicly recorded events and also numerous opinions and warnings put forward in the parliamentary debates. It would be irresponsible of me to be unconcerned by these occurrences and to remain indifferent. I expected an appropriate reaction from the incumbent state offices and the State Chamber commissions here. At the same time this was also a reason to invite the prime minister and the State Chamber chairman to discuss the political and security situation in the country and my public assessments of these circumstances. I believe that the cases of unlawful activity should be pointed out immediately, before they become daily practice. It is much easier to form an assessment about the security situation in the country on the basis of the government report, especially regarding the observation of constitutionality, legality, and protection of human rights.

I expect that the government will inform you of all the findings that it has uncovered or will uncover in the investigation of all events that have justifiably caused concern among the public for quite some time. This also applies to the arms with which Slovenia, also in the interest of its own security, helped Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the arms intended for the Slovene Army. The State Chamber and the public must get a thorough report about all this to clear all rumors about irregularities or even personal acquisitions and possible war profiteering. If this has happened, then the culprits must answer for it before a court of law.

I stick to my constitutional authorities. I do not interfere with the official procedures and actions of the state services, ministries, government, or the parliament except in the cases and in the spheres explicitly determined by the Constitution and the law. A duty to protect the constitutional order has compelled me to send numerous written warnings and proposals to the Slovene government. To illustrate, let me quote some of the issues to which the warnings referred and which, in my judgment, constituted a breach of the law and arbitrariness on the part of the state offices and their officials. In my opinion on the proposal of the Defense Law, which I sent to you at the request of the State Chamber on 3 December 1993, I pointed out the controversial nature both of the government decree on ranks and promotion in the Defense Ministry, as of the government's agreeing to the proposal for the dismissal of the commander of the Republican Headquarters of the Territorial Defense and the appointment of a new commander, the questionable awarding of honors and medals in the Defense Ministry, the intolerable interference of military personnel in the political sphere, failure to inform the president of the republic as the supreme commander about the actual situation in the defense forces and their combat-readiness, at the need to form a National Security Council of the government to steer, coordinate, and supervise the work of the entire security-intelligence and counterintelligence activity of the state and to safeguard the State Chamber's supervision over this activity and the entire defense sphere. I warned of the unlawful and arbitrary deployment of the guard of honor of the Territorial Defense and the unlawful usurping of the authority to discharge soldiers, where the minister even quoted consultations with the Constitutional Court. The essence of my warnings was that until the new laws are passed we must observe the prevailing ones and at the same time hurry up with the preparation and adoption of an overall, new Defense Law that will be harmonized with the Constitution. [passage omitted]

One should not overlook the fact that the government is responsible for the implementation of laws, for the management and direction of the state administration through ministers, and for the supervision of their work.

Regarding the anonymous writing of the so-called Civilian Initiative and its links with the foreign intelligence services, as it professes itself, regarding the supposed bugging in the Bank of Slovenia, and regarding the discovery of the arms on Maribor airport, I have urged, in writing and in personal contacts with the prime minister, the interior minister, and the chief of the Slovene Intelligence Security Agency, that matters be investigated thoroughly, that the interests of the state be protected, the safety of citizens safeguarded, and the domestic and international public informed about the conclusions. Let me here state also my opinion about the way in which the president of the republic is being informed—not Milan Kucan, but the institution of the president of this country. Because of his constitutional duties, obligations in country's political life, and appearances on the international scene, it is definitely in the interest of all citizens and all institutions that shape and implement country's internal and external policy that the president of the state be promptly and thoroughly informed about all affairs that are important for the effective functioning of the state. My everyday experiences convince me that the present manner in which the president is informed does not perform up to this standard. I believe that in finalizing our legislation and its harmonization with the Constitution, it would pay to consider a suitable legal solution for these relations. The lack of a defined means of informing the president of the republic, who is elected directly, is a poor testimony for this country, the government, and the State Chamber. It is odd, to say the least, to wonder where the president of the state gets his information from, and not why the president of the state is not informed. Countries with parliamentary tradition have these relations defined by law. [passage omitted]

Esteemed deputies! Despite all the unquestioned and encouraging achievements and successes of the last two and a half, that is, almost three years of Slovenia's independent life, I still believe that the basic premises and goals of the plebiscite are as topical as they were at the time of their adoption. I believe and hope that this project will remain a common concern of the parliamentary and all other parties, all state offices and the institutions of the civic society, just as its demanding the first step—the gaining of Slovenia's independence—was a common concern. [passage omitted]

As in all countries, especially those that have broken off with their real socialist past, there are social anomalies here, too, that hurt the citizens in a material, political, and moral way and for which there is often no excuse. Here I refer to the state's being too expensive, the slow pace of property transformation and the accompanying abuses as well as the abuses pointed out in the debate about public debt that affect the workers who, having invested their efforts and labor in the companies for decades, are many of them now unemployed and concerned for their job, salaries, and survival. Also, I refer to the cases of corruption, inexplicable foot-dragging over denationalization, and the uncompensated injustices against those hurt by the old political regime, even perfectly simple ones, such as compensation for the time spent in prison, for suffering, the right to have a grave and be remembered, and so forth, which is all a matter of legislation and thus also a matter of this parliament.

I am also convinced that the regulation of relations between the state and the church is also not running as one would wish and as well as possible. The criticisms of the slow systematic replacement of old laws and their harmonization with the legal standards of the European Union and the Council of Europe, and the ability of the social institutions, especially the judiciary and the prosecutors' offices, to prevent breaches of the law more efficiently and promptly than so far, are justified. I have warned about this in my public appearances. It is my judgment that I must do so on this occasion in the State Chamber, which is a legislative organ. I again stress the need to resolve these questions faster because their remaining unresolved only exacerbates the often justified protests of dissatisfied citizens who will eventually try to achieve justice by themselves. I am convinced of this also by a great number of letters that I receive daily. The people's potential for protest and justified grief and hard feelings should not be an object of political misuse. A timely detection of the potential protest demands quick, timely, and convincing responses. For this reason I again urge the observation of the principles of a law-governed state, legality, and constitutionality, which are the bases of democracy, the safety of citizens, the basis of respect for their dignity and the protection of their rights. I also urge effective action against social anomalies and moral injury. [passage omitted]

Firms Plan To Participate in B-H Reconstruction

94P20650A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 7 Apr 94 p 8

[Unattributed article: "Slovenia Thinks About Reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 April—Slovenia is trying to evacuate another 200 citizens from Sarajevo. With this purpose in mind, officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Labor, Family, and Social Welfare visited Sarajevo yesterday.

Representatives of some Slovene firms which would be able to participate in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina or were already known in Bosnia-Herzegovina before the war were invited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to a meeting in Ljubljana yesterday. Representatives of more than 30 firms attended the meeting, organized as a part of preparations for the visit of the Slovene Government delegation to Sarajevo. All the businessmen present emphasized their willingness to participate in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Many Slovene enterprises used to have branches or subsidiaries there, some having left there all their equipment and full warehouses. Slovene construction firms also have several thousand employees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, who could serve as a link in bidding for reconstruction contracts. Since many industrial facilities and power plants in Bosnia-Herzegovina were built by Slovene firms, it would be easiest for those firms to rebuild them.

Biographical Information on Jelko Kacin

94P20651A

[Editorial Report] The following biographic sketch of Jelko Kacin, who replaced Janez Jansa as defense minister of the Republic of Slovenia on 29 March, is a composite of information that appeared in DNEVNIK, a Ljubljana daily, and REPUBLIKA, a Slovene-language daily published in Trieste, Italy, on 25 March.

Jelko Kacin was born on 26 November 1955 in Celje, but since 1956 he has lived in Kranj, where he attended elementary school and high school, graduating from the latter in 1975. He graduated from the Faculty of Sociology, Political Science, and Journalism of Ljubljana University in 1981, having specialized in defense studies.

Until 1985, Kacin served as a consultant and head of the civil defense department in the Kranj municipal government. Following the 1990 elections, he became Slovenia's deputy secretary of people's defense and gained a reputation for his expert commentaries on the Gulf war. According to some sources, he had to leave the Secretariat of Defense because he overshadowed Defense Secretary Janez Jansa. Because of his leadership and organizational skills, he was named information minister in April 1991, before the war broke out in Slovenia. It was through his efforts as information minister during the 10-day war that the truth about the aggression by the Yugoslav Army reached the world and Slovenia's endeavors to achieve its independence gained international support. Kacin was the Democratic Party candidate in the 1992 presidential election. Having won only a few seats in the parliamentary election, his party did not join the governing coalition. After the election he left the civil service and became active in the business sector. (Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 25 Mar 94 p 3 and Trieste REPUBLIKA in Slovene 25 Mar 94 p 3)

Information Official Setinc Resigns

94P20661A Trieste REPUBLIKA in Slovene 1 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by C.R.: "M. Setinc Resigned"]

[Text] Ljubljana—Mile Setinc, director of the Government Information Office, resigned yesterday. He denied that disagreement in the LDS [Liberal Democracy of Slovenia] over the adoption of the Law on Radio and Television was the reason for his departure. It is known that Setinc favored more representatives of civic groups and professional organizations without party affiliations in the state Radio-Television Council. The Assembly adopted an alternative, a compromise between his proposal and the proposal backed by the LDS, which would allow representatives of political parties to dominate the Council. Setinc said that he has "personal" reasons for his resignation.

ΩSurvey of Political Parties

94P20669A

[Editorial Report] In its 7 April survey of Slovene parties titled "Three Slovene-Two Parties" DNEVNIK contends that the reason for the plethora of political parties and associations—124 are currently registered in Slovenia—is that only 20 signatures are required to register a new party. The Ljubljana daily predicts, however, that the number of parties will be "drastically reduced" by a new law that, if adopted in its present form, will include the requirement that "at least 500 adult Slovene citizens must sign charter statements and adopt a party statute and program" to form a party. The paper notes that this will not be an obstacle for the seven parties that have deputies in parliament, but will "probably be quite a hardship" for smaller parties with only a few hundred members.

The DNEVNIK article contains a "survey" of political parties, including information on their membership, organization, and dues. The paper observes that while none of the parties possess precise membership figures, all of them boast that their ranks are swelling.

The largest political party, according to DNEVNIK, is the Slovene People's Party (SLS), whose chairman is Marjan Podobnik, with 36,000 members organized in 51 county (opstina) committees. SLS Secretary Franc Feltrin claims that membership is growing, "especially in urban areas." Party dues are 1,000 tolars a year. The party rules do not bar membership in other political parties, except for members of the SLS leadership, and place no restrictions on admission.

DNEVNIK lists as the second largest political party the Slovene Christian Democrats (SKI), whose chairman is Lojze Peterle, with about 35,000 members, 20 percent of whom are also members of other parties. Members must be "adult Slovene citizens who accept the SDK statute and program." Among SDK members, however, are about 1,200 Slovenes who live abroad and are "not necessarily Slovene citizens." The party has 356 town, 62 county, and 16 regional committees. A new member has to sign a special admission form and pay dues based on income.

The United List of Social Democrats (ZLSD), whose chairman is Janez Kocijancic, has 23,000 dues-paying members and about 10,000 "sympathizers" who pay their dues irregularly, according to its secretary, Dusan Kumer. Dues are 1 percent of a member's net personal income or "as much as he or she can afford." The ZLSD averages seven town committees in each county (there are presently 62 counties in Slovenia) and has 13 regional committees. Several associations such as the Women's Forum, the Youth Forum, the Retirees Association, and the Workers Association are also included in the ZLSD. The new united Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (LDS), whose chairman is Janez Drnovsek, has 18,000 members, says its secretary, Andrej Novak. Formed on 12 March by a merger of four "left-of-center" parties, the LDS has "at least" one party committee in each county in addition to town committees. LDS members are not allowed to belong to other parties. Following the merger, it is expected that committees will be reorganized and the annual dues of 3,600 tolars reduced. Party officials pay dues of up to 2 percent of their monthly gross incomes.

Branko Grims, secretary of the Social Democratic Party (SDSS), whose chairman is Janez Jansa, says that the party's membership has increased almost 10 percent due to the "recent political events"—Jansa's dismissal from the post of defense minister and the party's subsequent departure from the governing coalition. The party has about 6,000 members, mostly "nonagricultural workers." Membership in other parties is not allowed. The SDSS has committees in every county; it is "particularly strong" in Murska Sobota, Ljubljana, and Maribor. Annual dues are 1,000 tolars.

The Slovene National Party (SNS), whose chairman is Zmago Jelincic, has more than 4,000 members. The SNS statute stipulates that to become a member of the party "one has to be a Slovene and a Slovene citizen, must feel like a Slovene, must agree with the SNS statute, and not have been a member of the League of Communists of Slovenia or Yugoslavia." The last requirement can be waived by the SNS Presidency, according to DNEVNIK. Membership in other parties is not allowed. The monthly dues are to 200 tolars for persons who are employed; the unemployed, retirees, and students pay 50 tolars a month.

The Slovene National Right (SND), whose chairman is Saso Lapa, has about 1,000 card-carrying members organized in five provincial committees; each provincial committee is composed of eight regional committees. According to Saso Lapa, there are six requirements for becoming an SND member: "One must be a Slovene, behave like a Slovene, feel like a Slovene, and accept our culture, traditions, and rules of the game." One must never have belonged to the Communist Party or the League of Communists and never held an office in the Socialist Alliance or Socialist Youth League. Party dues are 100 tolars per month.

DNEVNIK lists three additional minor parties which do not have seats in parliament: the Freedom Party with 500 members, the Forward Workers Party in Idrija with 100 members, and the Slovene Christian Socialists with 150 members. They are preparing to merge into a "new, left-oriented Social Democratic Party."

ΩEconomic Relations With Croatia Examined

94P20645A

[Editorial Report] "Intensive" talks between Slovenia and Croatia have resulted in the signing by the Slovene and Croatian prime ministers, Janez Drnovsek and Nikica Valentic, of a package of agreements on cooperation in various fields (Zagreb Radio, 7 February). According to the 25 March Maribor daily VECER, seven of these Slovene-Croatian agreements were ratified by the Chamber of Deputies of the Croatian Assembly on 24 March.

Describing the proceedings in the Croatian Assembly, VECER reports that agreements on maritime fishing, reciprocal implementation of court decisions, legal aid to citizens, establishment and authority of joint bodies to examine and delineate borders, economic and trade relations and cooperation, employment, and cooperation in culture and education were adopted without debate. One deputy, the paper reports, raised the issue of layoffs of Croats working in Slovenia and another, a representative of the ruling Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], requested an explanation regarding the rights of Croats living in Slovenia. Croats in Slovenia do not have the status of an ethnic minority, VECER points out, and are therefore not entitled to rights, such as education in their native language, granted to the recognized minorities: Italians and Hungarians. An article in the 31 March issue of the Zagreb daily VJESNIK analyzing Croatian-Slovene economic relations comments that the joint commission of the two countries' Chambers of Commerce "is not active enough." The article reports that this was also the opinion of a Slovene economic delegation headed by Vojka Ravbar, state secretary of the Ministry for Economic Relations and Development, that visited Zagreb in March to discuss "unresolved questions" of bilateral trade. Explaining the decline in bilateral trade, the Slovene delegation stated that Slovene firms had been looking elsewhere for partners, because of cases in which Croatian firms had failed to fulfill contractual obligations. The delegation cited the lack of an agreement on a free trade zone as another negative factor in economic relations, noting that Slovenia had signed such agreements with the Czech and Slovak Republics and was in the process of doing so with Hungary. The latter agreement was signed on 6 April, according to a Budapest Kossuth Radio report of the same day.

Judging by the statements of the Slovene delegation, VJESNIK concluded, the two sides agree that problems with denationalization and privatization had "slowed" economic development in both countries and contributed to problems in bilateral trade. The sides reported "dissatisfaction" with the state of bilateral trade and viewed the "politicization" of economic problems as especially detrimental to cooperation. An analysis of Slovene-Croatian economic relations in the 29 January issue of the major Ljubljana daily DELO reports that trade with Croatia had declined from $8.2 billion in 1990 to less than $1.5 billion in 1993. Croatia is Slovenia's third-largest trading partner, following Germany and Italy; Slovenia holds the same rank among Croatia's trading partners. Trade is unbalanced, however, DELO notes, with Slovenia having a "considerable" trade surplus with Croatia. In spite of such negative trends, the paper observes, Slovene economists view trade with Croatia as important to Slovenia's own economic well-being. In this context, DELO cites economist Dr. Franjo Stiblar's observation that "Croatia remains an important and interesting trading partner for us... and it is to be hoped that Croatia will succeed in stabilizing its economy, since that would also have a favorable effect on the revival of Slovenia's."

Federal

Jovanovic Calls Clinton Statement 'Unfortunate'

LD2104224794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2234 GMT 21 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said on Thursday [21 April] that the latest statement by U.S. President Bill Clinton concerning the Bosnian crisis was an escalation of the war of words at the very least and could not help put the peace efforts back on the negotiation rails. Speaking on Belgrade Radio, Jovanovic described Clinton's statement as "unfortunate and unwelcome in the extreme."

Clinton on Wednesday announced a new U.S. plan for Bosnia- Herzegovina, which envisages for massive NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions, command points, supply lines and warehouses, and a tightening of international sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro).

Jovanovic expressed special concern at the emergence of outdated thinking about sanctions as profitable in dealing with the crisis in former Yugoslavia, although so far they have been counterproductive.

The U.N. Security Council has clamped comprehensive and mandatory sanctions on Yugoslavia for its alleged involvement in the war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina among the local Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

"We can only guess at the reasons for the punitive policy being pursued blindly and obstinately when it neither benefits America nor brings a prospect of ending the Bosnian war and establishing peace," Jovanovic said. "We wish to believe that this is the last gasp of a policy which has failed, and that the latest tough stance towards us will be followed by a more rational period in the U.S. policy, which will signal its joining the rational forces on which the world can rely in the efforts to put the final stop to the Bosnian war," Jovanovic said.

Poll Shows Economy Making Slow Recovery

LD2104122894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav economy is making a slow headway after three months of implementation of a programme for monetary reconstruction and the country's overall economic recovery. A poll conducted by the Belgrade Institute for Market Research (IZIT) in 200 industrial firms showed that 84.4 percent of the polled firms have made perceptibly better results under the new conditions. Since January 24, when the Yugoslav Government launched its programme, the world's record hyperinflation dropped from a monthly rate of 313 million percent in january to below zero.

The national currency, the dinar, was stabilized and pegged to the German mark (one dinar selling one mark). Fifteen percent of the polled, primarily firms oriented to imports and exports, said the economic reform has not improved their business. Revival of their production depends on the lifting or easing of the international economic sanctions, which the United Nations Security Council imposed against Yugoslavia on May 30, 1992. Production increase in the period between mid-March and mid-April was reported by 58 percent of the polled firms, while 15 percent said their production decreased. The poll showed that the number of industrial firms without sufficient orders for normal functioning has dropped from 81 percent in mid-February to 44 percent.

For the first time after nearly two years, some firms increased the use of their production capacities, mostly those producing consumer goods (6.7 percent) and equipment (5.9 percent). This mostly results from an improved supply of raw materials and primary products. At the beginning of the year, 70 percent of industrial firms complained of insufficient stocks of raw materials while in April it dropped to 59 percent.

Serbia

Akashi Holding Talks With Milosevic, Karadzic

LD2204112994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1036 GMT 22 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)—Yasushi Akashi, UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, arrived in Belgrade this morning for a meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, immediately upon his arrival, we have learned unofficially. The meeting of the three in Belgrade is attracting a great deal of attention, particularly because of the Gorazde drama and the latest NATO threats to the Serbs in Bosnia. Only a few days ago Akashi told Butrus-Ghali that he would not talk to Slobodan Milosevic and Radovan Karadzic unless, as he said, the attacks on Gorazde were to cease and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members were to be released.

Akashi also made his meeting in Belgrade conditional upon a total cease-fire in and around Gorazde. At the moment the only thing that is certain is the fact that the Serb Republic has declared a unilateral cease-fire, so the question now arises as to whether this move was sufficient for Akashi to change his mind. [passage omitted]

Oppression of Sandzak Muslims Documented

94BA0240A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
30 Mar 94 p 9

[Article by Ivkica Bacic: "Strike Wherever You Can"]

[Text] Belgrade (From VJESNIK's permanent correspondent)—Electric shock, beating with billy clubs on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, sexual abuse with a stick, the beating of bound arrestees, the striking of all parts of the body with metal objects, the binding of arrestees to objects which prevent movement, pressure, rubbing the ears, karate blows to sensitive parts of the body—these are only some of the cruel methods in the excessively rich repertoire of abuse and harassment to which Sandzak Muslims have been exposed in Serbian prisons from the end of last year to March of this year.

The Belgrade Fund for Humanitarian Law the other day presented to the public extensive documentation giving testimony to systematic torture of Muslims by state agencies of Serbia, most of all those in Novi Pazar, Sjenica, and neighboring villages, who for months have been the victims of extraordinary police violence, who have been imprisoned and arrested without any pretext whatsoever, even without warranted suspicion that they had broken the law in any way. The fund's representatives, led by Natasa Kandic, have visited Sandzak several times and talked to Muslims who are the victims of police violence solely because of their nationality and religion, whose elementary human and civil rights have been threatened to such a degree that Natasa Kandic did not hesitate to say in a recent news conference that it is a question of large-scale systematic violation of their rights that "can be compared only to what people have been experiencing in the bloody Bosnian war."

Provinces Swallowed Up

Those words of hers, backed up by the statements of the harassed Muslims (some of them have even complained to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who then ordered Police Minister Zoran Sokolovic to see "internally" what his subordinates are doing in Sandzak), certainly have not been made public in any government medium (something was written only by BORBA), presumably in order not to disturb the ceremonial atmosphere that prevails in Serbia because of 28 March, proclaimed Statehood Day. It was that day five years ago that "Serbia again became a state," as all the media euphorically recalled on Monday when they carried the comment for the occasion from the state agency TANJUG. It was on that day in 1989 that Serbia changed its constitution, that is, swallowed up the two provinces (which had been constituent parts of the former six-member federation), threatening the former Yugoslav republics with that same "constitutional ingestion," all of this under Milosevic's well-known slogan "Serbia will be whole or it will not exist," which was in fact the beginning of the war, an unambiguous announcement of what by the force of arms has been represented as "Serbian defense of its own" these past four years. In the TANJUG comment, this is referred to as "the tough struggle of Serbia, its leadership, and a great majority of the people for sovereignty," for "integrity of the state from Horgos to Dragas," a struggle without which Serbia "would perhaps now be even smaller than Serbia proper, reduced only to the Belgrade Pashaluk," TANJUG concluded.

"Expel, Kill..."

And that "Serbia wanted nothing but equality with the other nationalities and republics," as indicated by the documentation of the fund referred to, which proves with numerous examples that Serbia is not only not a civil state, as its constitution states, but is markedly discriminatory "from Horgos to Dragas," to the detriment of all except the Serbs, specifically those Serbs who "represent statehood." Many among the Muslims from Novi Pazar and Sjenica (just from the end of January to the end of February of this year, there were more than 400 of them in prison) were arrested in the drive to confiscate arms like the one in Prijepolje, during which the alleged arms were sought only from the Muslims, a practice, as asserted by the staff members of the fund, that encourages the Serbs and Montenegrins to continue to arm themselves. There is evidence of this in the fact that the government agencies have done nothing concerning the datum made public that at least 7,000 members of Seselj's party are armed (a statement by Zivota Panic, former top man in the Yugoarmy). But on the other hand, even those Muslims not found to be possessing arms or those who possessed arms with proper permits (most were in this category) were exposed to unprecedented torture by Sokolovic's police, who as they beat them called them "backward Muslim peasants, Turks, mojahedins," for whom "there is no place in Serbia" and who should be "driven out or killed," as stated in the extensive report of the Belgrade Fund for Humanitarian Law.

Montenegro

Lekic Rejects Changes to Republic's Status

AU2104140794 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
21 Apr 94 p 6

[Report by R. Barjaktarevic: "Montenegro Is Not a Serbian State"]

[Text] Pristina—"It is obvious that I cannot have a favorable opinion about any proposal that turns Montenegro into a region. This means that the proposal, which comes from Belgrade, that would lead to Montenegro losing its statehood is unacceptable to us. The authors of such ideas and projects are mistaken, since Montenegrin statehood has been forged by the nation through burdensome history, and that is why the current Montenegrin generation has the moral duty to take a dignified patriotic stand toward such tendencies that are aimed at obstructing the revival of Montenegrin statehood. I regard as frivolous all the theories about a new constitution based on regionalization."

This is what Montenegrin Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic said in an extensive interview for the Pristina ZERI.

Asked about the possibility of creating a union of Serbian states, which would also include Montenegro, Lekic said:

"We are discussing ideas, thoughts. However, they not only have not been discussed and verified at the official state levels, but they have not even been defined. In any case, in connection with our position, that is, the Montenegro's position, there are many open questions. As for an association, that is links between the Serb Krajina and the republic of Srpska, I can see some difficulties in Montenegro participating in such a creation. To start with, Montenegro is not a Serbian state, but a state of the people who live in it, that is, a civil state."

The Montenegrin foreign minister said that there were "no secret connections between Montenegro and Italy," and he also said that relations with Albania were better since "whenever I travel abroad, I fly from the Tirana airport." As for Kosovo, he said: "The basic thing is to start a serious dialogue, but it is hard to say what kinds of solutions will be found. In any case, it would be best if the solutions were to reflect the will of all the citizens. I support certain rights for Kosovo, autonomy, certain subjectivity."

Fearful of War Spreading

LD2104151194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Podgorica, 21 Apr (TANJUG)—The latest situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina indicates that the most critical stage of the crisis has not ended and that the war threatens to spread. So says a statement sent to TANJUG by Montenegro's Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic. In his opinion, these are the latest tragic consequences of the proclamation and recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina without securing a consensus of all three constituent peoples beforehand, a principle that was explicitly defined in the constitution of that republic at that time.

Lekic, however, notes that the fundamental causes of the war do not exonerate the warring adventurers belonging to the sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina from responsibility for the activities which not only continue to cause further suffering among the innocent population, but also further diminish the possibility of finding a peaceful solution. To unquestioningly give in to everything that comes from the top brass cannot be in the national interest. This particularly refers to those things which irresponsibly undermine the efforts aimed at restoring peace. True patriotism, he adds, can be seen in those who, in addition to promoting national interests, advocate peace and respect for the rights of others and an end to the suffering of the population. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Rugova Briefs Diplomats on 'Grave Situation'

AU2104203894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 Apr 94

[Text] Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova, is holding meetings with foreign diplomats. Mehmet Haziri:

[Haziri] The Kosova Information Center reports that today, President Ibrahim Rugova received three countries' CSCE representatives—(Laura Mehatian), charge d'affaires at the Italian Embassy; (Goran Jacobson) and (Thorsten Petren), charge d'affaires at the Swedish Embassy; as well as (Andreas Vinzel), charge d'affaires at the Hungarian Embassy in Belgrade. President Rugova informed the CSCE diplomats of recent developments and the grave situation in Kosova. Also, in a meeting with Mrs. (Ann Brulant), charge d'affaires of the Norwegian Embassy in Belgrade, and (Siri Ovre), they talked about the present situation in Kosova and recent developments in the region.

In both of these meetings, President Rugova spoke of the continuing aggravation of the situation in Kosova due to the constant increase in Serbian repression and violence against the Albanian population. The CSCE diplomats and the Norwegians stayed in Kosova to complete their fact-finding mission on the present trends and efforts of Albanian political parties and individuals in attempting to resolve all problems peacefully and through dialogue.

Serbs Deploy Troops Near Kosovo-Albanian Border

AU2104203794 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 340 in English 21 Apr 94

[Unattributed report: "Additional Serbian Army Forces Deployed in Dragas"]

[Text] Alongside with the frequent movements of the Serbian army throughout Kosova, additional units of these forces have been recently deployed in the areas adjacent to Albania. Today's BUJKU reports that over the last couple of days several additional units of the Serbian army have been brought in the military barracks in Dragas (town near the Kosovo-Albania border). As reported, the Serbian army has recently commenced to amend and repair the military barracks near the border, which have not been used for decades.